# GUJARĀT
AND
# ITS LITERATURE
FROM EARLY TIMES TO 1852

BY
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FOREWORD BY
MAHATMA GANDHI

1967
BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
BOMBAY

DEDICATED

TO

MAHATMA GANDHI

*Like unto the Prophet of Israel*
*you have led your people out of bondage*

MĪRĀÑBAĪ

## FOREWORD

The only reason for inviting me to write a foreword to a literary work such as Shri Munshi's can be that I am called 'Mahatma'  I can make no literary pretensions  My acquaintance with Gujarati and for that matter any literature. is, for no fault of mine, next to nothing  Having led a life of intense action since early youth I have had no opportunity of reading except in prisons whether in South Africa or in India  Shri Munshi's survey of Gujarati literature has made fascinating reading for me  His miniature pen-portraits of writers give one a fair introduction to their writings

Shri Munshi's estimate of our literary achievement appears to me to be very faithful  The survey naturally confines itself to the language understood and spoken by the middle class  Commercially-minded and self-satisfied, their language has naturally been 'effeminate and sensuous'  Of the language of the people we know next to nothing  We hardly understand their speech  The gulf between them and us the middle class  is so great that we do not know them and they know still less of what we think and speak

The dignified persistence of Shri Devendra Satyarthi, a writer whom I do not remember to have ever met, has made me peep into his remarkable collection of folk songs of the provinces he has been travelling in  They are the literature of the people  The middle classes of the provinces to which the songs belong are untouched by them, even as we of Gujarat are untouched by the songs of folk, i e  the language of the masses of Gujarat  Meghani of the Saurashtra school has done folklore research in Kathiawar  His researches show the gulf that exists between the language of the people and ours

But the folklore belongs to an order of things that is passing away, if it has not already done so  There is an awakening among the masses  They have begun not with thought but with action, as I suppose they always do  Their language has yet to take definite shape  It is to be

found somewhat, but only somewhat, in the newspapers, not in books Shri Munshi's work therefore may be said to have only commenced with the volume before me It was necessary But he has to continue the work so well begun He has the requisite passion for his work If he has health, he will now go direct to the people and find out what they are thinking, and he will give expression to their thoughts The unquestionable poverty of Gujarati is a token of the poverty of the people But no language is really poor We have hardly had time to speak since we have begun to act Gujarat like the rest of India is brooding The language is shaping itself There is enough work awaiting writers like our author

Munshi has alluded to Parsi-Gujarati So there is It is unfortunate that there is Parsi-Gujarati It is confined to novels and stories of the shilling shocker style They are meant merely for passing the idle hour The language is tortured out of shape And just as there is Parsi-Gujarati there is also Muslim-Gujarati though on a much humbler scale It is impossible to ignore these two streams They are not wells of Gujarati undefiled But no reviewer of Gujarati literature can afford to ignore the existence of works which hundreds, if not thousands, of Parsis and Muslims read and by which, may be, even shape part of their conduct.

M K GANDHI

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The preface to the first edition of this work was dated March 5, 1935

The book has now been out of print for several years and I am happy to find that at least the first part of the second edition of the work is being published after eighteen years As stated in the preface of the first edition of this book, I was indebted to Messrs Longmans, Green & Co Ltd , both for inducing me to write it, as also for publishing the book, but now that the copyright in all my works has been transferred to the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, which has a publishing department of its own, that distinguished firm has been good enough, at my request, to reassign the copyright in the work to the Bhavan I take this opportunity of thanking them not only for publishing the first edition, but also for their kindness in relinquishing their rights in this generous manner

This work in its second edition had to be divided into two parts for several reasons As the original work was written in jail, the materials at my disposal were limited My studies in the history of Gujarat of the period between A D 550 and 1300, now published under the title 'Imperial Gurjaras' has also led me to revise my outlook on that period, this involved the revision of part I 'Prakrit, Samskrit and Apabhramśa (A C 200? - 1297)' The modern period (1852-1932) also has had to be overhauled, because the literary achievements of the authors living in 1933 have to be brought up to date and a survey of literature from 1934 to 1953 has to be written—a task for which I have little time at my disposal Since 1934 the political, social and economic conditions of Gujarat also have, with the other parts of the country, undergone revolutionary changes and both the Preface and the Introduction, in so far as they relate to the modern period, have to be reconsidered in their light

As the work has been divided into two, the introductory remarks relevant to this volume only have been retained Gandhiji's preface and a part of the old preface have been reproduced to maintain the continuity

It is hoped that the Second Volume will be published in a few months

*Raj Bhavan, Lucknow,*
*December 1, 1953* K M MUNSHI

## PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

This book fulfils a desire, cherished for many years, to place a connected story of Gujarāt and its literature before the English-reading public The invitation which the Chairman of the Post Graduate Studies in the Calcutta University extended to me about the end of 1929 to deliver a series of lectures on Gujarati Literature provided the necessary opportunity The invitation remained unavailed of as I joined the Civil Disobedience movement in April 1930, but gaol life, which immediately supervened, provided the necessary leisure to translate the desire into effort

A systematic history of the Gujarati literature cannot yet be written With the materials at our disposal it is well-nigh impossible to reconstruct the past life of Gujarāt, or to read its inner meaning accurately, and in this work, therefore, I have attempted only to describe, in a connected form, its historical and literary currents This book was written mainly during the two and a half years between 1930-1934 which I spent in gaol During this period, as I sat writing in my prison cell, Gujarāt passed through a fiery ordeal When I came out in December 1933 the book was already in the press and I found it impossible to introduce any new impressions, but from what little I could see I remained convinced that my analysis of the currents in modern Gujarāt did not require a revision The immediate after-effects of an ordeal are always deceptive, they may appear to, but do not, alter habits and tendencies which belong to one's nature

I confess to finding great difficulty in assessing the value of contemporary works The difficulty has been much greater as no such review was possible without a reference to the work of my wife and myself The choice before me was either to bring the book up-to-date, or to close it with the year 1913 and leave untouched a glorious historical and literary age of Gujarāt This age claims the best works of Narsinhrao, Khabardar and Nanalal It has given birth to promising creative tendencies in

modern literature It also includes amongst its achievements the literary output of Mahatma Gandhi, and the emergence of Gujarāt on the stage of world politics and literature What to do with myself, while writing about this period, was the most trying problem of all, and I am indebted to my friend Dr I J S Taraporevala for coming to my rescue with a chapter, which, perhaps, does me more justice than I deserve

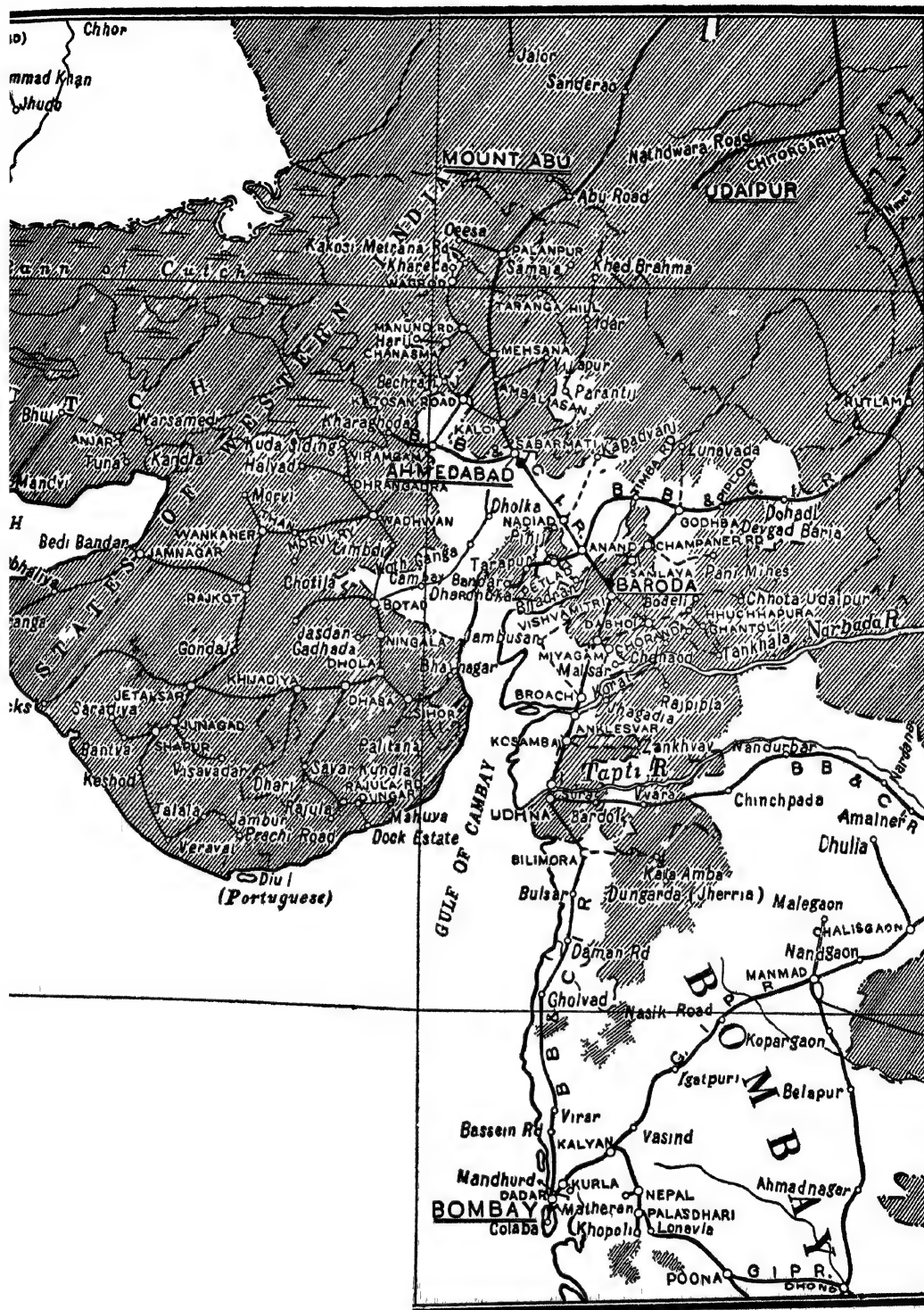
Coming Changes

In the book itself I have restricted myself to a descriptive and critical sketch of the literature of every period on the background of its historical setting, but modern Gujarati literature or its future possibility cannot be properly understood without realising the great change which is daily coming over the life of the province or appraising the forces which are bringing it about

* * *

I am deeply obliged to Mahatma Gandhi for his kindness in contributing a foreword to this work and to Dr A B Keith and Ācārya Dhruva for their appreciation of it My cordial thanks are also due to several friends for their encouragement and assistance in making the completion of this book possible I am also grateful to the Government of Bombay and the officials of different jails in which I happened to be, for their unfailing courtesy in giving me the necessary facilities for writing the book, and to Messrs Longmans, Green & Co, Ltd, for the promptitude with which they undertook to publish it

*26, Ridge Road,*

*Bombay, 5th March, 1935* K M MUNSHI

# INTRODUCTION

## GUJARĀT A PERSPECTIVE

### I

The nature of the life and literature which give to a country a living unity depend mainly upon its geographical peculiarities, the economic factors which develop common interests and aptitudes among its inhabitants, and the cultural influences which glisten through the fabric of social and religious institutions These determinants impose the national character upon the people and upon all that they do and express

The life of Gujarāt records the interplay of two factors (a) the individuality of the Gujaratis expressed through a consciously directed group life, and (b) the influence of the culture which, originating with the early Aryans, has maintained the homogeneity of Indian life and the continuity of its traditions for the last three thousand years To the first, Gujarāt owes its outlook on life, its social institutions, its language and literature, and the urge to remain a single social organism The second has created forces which stimulate and unify its collective impulses impelling it to find a greater self-fulfilment in the corporate life of India

Gujarāt occupies an important part of the western seaboard of India from Sindh to Bombay The term Gujarāt is used in two different senses firstly, to denote the mainland between Mount Abu and the river Damanganga, and secondly, the much larger language field in which Gujarati is spoken

In the latter sense, Gujarāt's northern linguistic boundary touches the states of Sirohi and Māravāḍ where Maravadi is spoken, and includes the districts of Thar and Parkar in Sindh, as also Kaccha Kaccha, for cultural and literary purposes, has always been regarded as part of Gujarāt

The southern boundary in a sense is projected by the Damanganga In these parts of the Thana District and the islands of Salsette and Bombay where Gujaratis live side by side with other linguistic groups, each group speaks its own language, but lives a common life

The eastern boundary starting from the Sahya ridges, runs along the state of Dharampur, joins the eastern frontier of Palanpur, and extends along the Aravali hills, partly enclosing within it the Bhil settlements in which the dialect spoken is largely influenced by Gujarati Further east, beyond the region of the Bhils, lie the eastern and southern parts of Rajputana with Jaipuri and Malvi as their dialects Both these dialects are closely allied to Gujarati, the Bhil dialect forming a sort of connecting link between the two

## II

Gujarāt consists of regions which in some respects are different from one another They are (i) North Gujarāt, the mainland between Mount Abu and the river Mahi, (ii) South Gujarāt, the mainland between the Mahi and the Damanganga, (iii) The tract south of the Damanganga up to and inclusive of the multilingual island of Salsette and Bombay, where Gujarati is partially spoken, (iv) the peninsula of Saurashtra, and (v) Kaccha may also be considered as part of Gujarati language area for certain purposes

In the earliest times the memory of which is preserved in traditional history, North Gujarat was called Ānartta, after the eponymous king Ānartta, son of Vaivasvata Manu The *Mahābhārata* treats Saurāshtra as included in Ānartta, its original capital was Kuśasthalī believed to have been destroyed by the Punyajana Rākṣasas, who are identified with the Paṇikas of the *Vedas* and the pre-historic Phoenicians Sometimes Ānartta, together with the adjoining region of Sindhu-Sauvīra was also referred to as one country

In mythic times what is Gujarāt and Mālva now were occupied by a federation of tribes called Haihaya Tālajanghas and their conqueror Sahasrārjuna has been considered one of the earliest emperors in traditional history

Apart, therefore, from the aborigines, styled Nāgas, this region might have been occupied by homogeneous tribes of the swarm of Aryans that first entered India and whom Grierson calls 'the outer band of Aryans' And the Yādavas, allied to the Haihayas, were possibly the first Inner band Aryans who migrated to Saurāshtra

*Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtras* include Ānartta among those impure countries to which an Aryan was forbidden to go But all the same, it does not appear to be an unimportant region Its later capital, Ānandapura or Ānartapura (modern Vadnagar) was a city of great learning and importance and continued to be so till about the tenth century Ānartta, however, formed part of the empires of the Mauryas, Greeks, of the Śaka Kshatrapas and of the Guptas On the decline of the Gupta empire, Ānartta formed part of the kingdom of Valabhīpura In the seventh century Saurāshtra, Ānartta and the region between the Sarasvatī and the Narmadā, then called Mālava formed part first of the kingdom of Valabhī and later that of Bhillamāla or Srimāla near Mount Abu, which was the capital

From about the end of the eighth century Ānartta with Saurāshtra and south Gujarāt up to Kim, formed part of the empire of Imperial Pratihāras When in A D 940 the empire of Kanauj broke up, Mūlarāja established himself in the principality of Anahilavāda Pātana; after Siddharāja the word Gurjara-*Mandala,* Gurjara-*Bhūmi,* Gurjara-*Deśa,* came to be applied to whatever territory which the Chaulukyas claimed as their domain In A D 1141 Gurjaradeśa included Dohad, but parts of south Gujarāt were merged in Gurjaradeśa after the conquests of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, and generally called by that name

The original Ānartta that was first included in the kingdom of the Gurjaras however remained in the popular mind as Gujarāt proper and even now the local pride of the residents of north Gujarāt will not allow that any area is genuine except their own

III

Aparānta, which was identified with North Konkan by R G Bhandarkar, presents some difficulties, as the same

name was used ın dıfferent ages to ındıcate dıfferent geographıcal concepts In *Mahābhārata*, Aparānta ıs mentıoned more than once ıt ıs ıncluded wıthın the *janapadas* of the north (*ūrddhva*)[1] though ıts exact locatıon ıs not stated, but Konkana ıs saıd ın the same context to be ın the south[2] Hence ıt can be ınferred that ın the *Mahābhārata* age, Aparānta and Konkana were not ıdentıcal Agaın we learn from *Mahābhārata* that Arjuna vısıted all the holy places ın Aparānta up to Prabhāsa,[3] whıch ıs ın Kathıawad Hence ıt may be concluded that accordıng to *Mahābhārata* Aparānta stretched from Kathıawad to Konkan

In one of hıs Rock Edıcts[4] Aśoka says *"Yona-Kamboya Gandhārānam Rathıkanam-Pıtınıkanam ye vā pı (amne) Aparānta"* lıterally thıs means "such other *aparāntas*", that ıs Yaunas, Kāmbojas, Gāndhāras, Rathıkas, Pıtınıkas, and 'such other western rulıng races and theır countrıes or states' Thus Aśokan Aparānta ıs applıed to the north-western as well as to the south-western peoples and theır countrıes

In Buddhıst lıterature, we come acıoss the name Sunaparānta,[5] or sımply Aparānta[6] Sunaparānta was ın Buddhıst tımes a country on the western sea board of Indıa of whıch the chıef town was Śūrpāraka, now known as Sopara The people of Sunaparānta were known to the preachers of early Buddhısm as fierce and rude *chanda pharusa*, ıt was at Sopara that one set of rock edıcts was set up

In the Junagadh ınscrıptıon,[7] Mahākshatrapa Rudradāman (A D 51) ıs descrıbed as the lord of the east and west, Ākarāvantı, the Anūpa country, Ānarta, Surāshtra, Śvabhra, Maru, Kachchha, Sındhu-Sauvīra, Kukura, Aparānta and Nıshāda The Nasık cave ınscrıptıon of Vāsıthıputra Śrı-Pulumāvı (*c* A D 130-59) also mentıons Asıka, Asaka,

1 *Mahābhārata*, Bh P, 9 47
2 ıbıd
3 Ibıd, Ādı, 218 1-2
4 R E, V, Shahbazgarhı
5 *Majjhıma-Nıkāya*, III, 268, *Samyutta-Nıkāya*, IV, 61
6 *Dīpavamsa* VIII, 7, *Mahāvamsa*, XII, 5, *Samanta-pāsādıka*, I, 67
7 EI, VIII, 44

Mūlaka, Suratha, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidhava and Ākarāvanti [8]

In the *Raghuvamśa,* Kālidāsa makes Raghu cross the Sahya mountains and conquer the Aparānta country [9] The *Jayamangalā* commentary on the *Kāmasūtra* also says that Aparānta was situated near the western sea [10]

Aparānta was also used to designate peoples or tribes In the *Mārkandeya-Purāna,*[11] the following are called the people of Aparānta Saurpārakas, Kālandas, Durgas, Anikatas, Pulindas, Suminas, Rupapas, Śvapadas, Kurumins, Kathaksharas (modern Kathkari), Naisikyas and others who live on the north bank of the Narmadā,[12] the Bhirukachchhas, the Māheyas, the Sārasvatas, Kāśmīras (should be Kachchhikas),[13] Saurāshtras, Āvantyas and the Arbudas This territory roughly corresponds with the Paśchāddeśa of Rājaśekhara which he placed to the west of Devasabhā, and included within it the *janapadas* of Surāshtra, Dāseraka, Travana, Bhrigukachchha, Kachchhiya, Ānarta, Arbuda [14] Kautilya mentions Devasabha as a mountain [15] If it is identified with the Aravalli, as has been suggested by S N Majumdar,[16] Paśchāddeśa would include the territory from Abu up to Nasik including Saurāshtra, and Kaccha Thus the Paśchāddeśa of Rājaśekhara fairly agrees with the Aparānta of the *Purānas* Rājaśekhara did not use the term Aparānta, probably because by his time it indicated a much smaller area or had gone out of use altogether But Paśchāddeśa practically covers the modern Gujarāti speaking area

The country south of Mahi or at times south of Narmadā up to the Purna or as far as Daman was called Lāta In the second century A D , Ptolemy referred to it as Larike,

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8 ibid, 60
9 *Raghuvamsa,* IV, vv 52-53
10 *Kāmasūtra,* 126
11 *Mārkandeya-Purāna,* Tr by Pargiter, LVII, vv 50.52
12 *Vāyu-Purāna* XLV, 130 and *Matsya Purāna* CXIII, 50 has "within the Narmadā"
13 See *Matsya-Purāna* CXIII, 51 and *Vāyu* XLV, 131 Moreover, Kāshmīras are mentioned in the *Mārkandeya* in the appropriate place Hence Kāshmīras must be a mistake for *Kāchchhikas*
14 Rājasekhara *Kāvyamīmāmsā,* 93
15 *Arthasāstra,* 78
16 *Ptolemy,* McCrindle, ed by S N Majumdar, 355

but Ptolemy's Larike was a political division rather than a geographical one, and as such included in addition to the sea board an extensive inland territory Barygaza or Bhrigukachchha (Broach) was its chief port Bhrigukachchha means the 'high coast land'

Though Ptolemy mentions Larike, which is obviously derived from Lāta, neither ancient Indian literature nor inscriptions mention Lāta It is first mentioned in the Mandasor inscription of Kumāragupta and Bandhuvarman (A D 436) [17] Thereafter the name gradually becomes more common According to al-Beruni, Lāradesha had two capitals, Bihroj and Rihanjur, 42 *farsakh* from Anhilvāḍā [18] Bihroj is undoubtedly Broach, but it is not possible to identify Rihanjur, unless it was Rander, which once was a flourishing riverine port

When the Arab travellers visited the coast, Lāta included Thana, for Ibn Sa'id states "Tana is the last of the cities of Lār, well-known in the mouths of the merchants" Some other Arab travellers have also stated "Tana is in Jazrat on the eastern side" [19] Later on we find Dimishqi writing in A D 1325 that the "coasts of the country of Lār are a continuation of the coasts of Jazrat"

Lāta had its own language or dialect Masudi (A D 943) states that Lāriyya language was spoken in coastal cities such as Saymur, Subara and Tana and in other regions associated with the Larwi sea, which washes these countries [20] This statement is corroborated by that of Bhoja, the Paramāra emperor, who, writing nearly two hundred years later, mentions that the people of Lāta had their own language which was a kind of Prakrit But soon after the reign of Bhoja, Chaulukya Karna annexed Lāta and thereafter Lāta became an integral part of the Chaulukyan empire, which soon came to be known as Gurjarabhūmi

Bhrigukachchha in Lāta and Śūrpāraka in Konkana were both associated with Paraśurāma, the descendant of the sage Bhrigu, and if there is any truth that Konkana was

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17 *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, III, 81
18 Al-Beruni's India, Tr by Sachau, I, 205
19 Quoted by S M Husayn Nainar *Arab Geographer's Knowledge of Southern India*, 81, f n , 181
20 ibid, 95

brought up by Parśurāma from the sea so that he might retire to Sūrpāraka, the whole area might have been at one time colonised by the residents of Bhrigukachchha

North Konkan remained unconquered till Siddharāja Jayasimha, the emperor of Gujarāt (1094-1143) reduced Thana and built a fort there His successor, Kumārapāla, (1143-74) annexed North Konkan and made it a province of his kingdom His successors, however, retained their hold only over certain places along its coast In 1310 Thana is stated by Rashid-ud-Din to have been included in the kingdom of Gujarāt, which was then governed by the viceroy of the Sultanate of Delhi With intermittent short periods, north Konkan so continued to be included in the kingdom of Gujarāt till A D 1543, when by the treaty of Bassein the Sultan of Gujarāt ceded it to the Portuguese

By about 1734 the Marathas occupied Thana In 1774 however, it was taken by the East India Company and annexed to Bombay, at a time when the latter's contact with Gujarāt was closer than with Deccan A few places in North Konkan which had been left in the hands of the Marathas were surrendered to the East India Company by the Treaty of Poona in 1817 In 1844 the Thana district was placed with Gujarat districts in the Northern division of the Presidency of Bombay and continued to be so till the present time Till a few years ago, for educational purposes the district was under the Educational Inspector of Gujarāt, though now it is attached to the Bombay Inspectorate

Saurāshtra is a very ancient name, though the much more ancient name is Kuśavarta Perhaps Dr Bhandarkar's view that the word is analogous to Mahārāshtra is not incorrect The Rathikas lived in Saurāshtra during the days of Aśoka, possibly the orginal Prakrit of the word was Raḍḍa or Rattha which perhaps survives in the name of Reḍḍis, Rāthors, Sorath and Marāthā It is more than likely that the words *Ānartta, Saurāshtra and Mahārāshtra* are the Sanskritized names of three regions of Ānarattha, Su-rattha, and Maha-rattha

Saurāshṭra is also referred to in the Epics, the Purānas and classical Sanskrit literature, as also by foreigners like

Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Periplus and Hiuen Tsang The Marathas gave Saurāshtra the name of the tribe which offered them the greatest resistance On the integration of Kathiawar to Free India (1947) the old name of Saurāshtra was restored

In the Chaulukyan period Saurāshtra was included in Gurjarabhūmi and so was it under the Sultanate of Gujarāt and under the Moghul Empire after Akbar conquered it It was only during the British period that Saurāshtra was detached from the mainland and the jurisdiction of several rulers big and small came to be recognised In 1947, however, on India being free Saurāshtra was integrated and now forms a separate state

Kaccha has always been known by that name and, though politically separate, its fortunes have invariably been linked with those of Gujarāt

The island of Bombay was originally a group of several islands which were unwholesome little pendants to North Konkan separated from it by a stormy creek Salsette itself was also split into several islands The Bombay islands were generally included in the North Konkan, but Bhīmadeva or Bimba appears to be their first independent ruler in the 14th century Fleeing from the devastation inflicted on Gujarāta by the armies of Alā-ud-Din Khalji (A D 1299) he escaped with a few families to these unwholesome islands and founded a small kingdom Scholars have disagreed as to whether Bhīmadeva came from Gujarāt or Mahārāshtra But *Bimbākhyāna* itself makes it clear that he came from Anahilavāda, the capital of Gujarāt and his retinue was drawn mostly from Gujarāt

The islands also became part of the Sultanate of Gujarāt and by the treaty of 1534 came into the hands of the Portuguese In 1661 the king of Portugal gave them to Charles II of England in dowry In 1665 their possession was delivered to Humfray Cook by the Portuguese Viceroy In 1668, however, Charles II transferred it to the East India Campany Shivājī raided Surat passing through the Nasik-Bulsar route twice between 1667 and 1672 Aungier, the then Governor of the Surat Factory, decided, in view of the insecurity of Surat as the headquarters of the East

India Company, to transfer them to a place secure from the rising Maratha Power except by sea where the British were powerful It was intended to be a 'port for the exportation and importation of goods and persons to Persia, Mokha and other parts', and was for a considerable time a port subsidiary to Surat in Gujarat Since then the East India Company and later the British Government built up the city of Bombay

IV

The lowest strata of the population in North Konkan consist of Dublās, Wārlīs and Katkarīs These aborigines were evidently pushed into the pocket including the islands of Bombay by pressure of immigrants from the North The next immigrants into the islands of Bombay were the Kolis, who on all authorities continued to be their orginal inhabitants till Aungier founded the city of Bombay Kathiawad and Central Gujarāt was the home of the Kolis in pre-historic times With the advance of the Aryan tribes they were also pushed southwards up to Bombay, and they crossed over by the sea to Kolaba and Ratnagiri in small numbers

The Bhrigukachchhas, associated with Bhrigu, the ancestor of Paraśurāma, and the allied Konkanas evidently brought an early Aryan Prakrit with them to the coastal tract from which Konkanī has sprung In 1922 Dr Jules Bloch in his celebrated treatise *La Formation de la Langue Marathe* wrote 'By its geographical features as by its population, the Prabhu, the Koli and the Thakur are met with in Gujarat as well The Konkan is related to the region of Surat and to Gujarat It is the same with regard to language The common traits are more striking and numerous in the South"

From this it would be legitimate to infer that the first Aryan settlers of the Konkan came by the sea from Gujarat and spoke its language Up to the 10th century A D the language of South Gujarat and Thana was the same Lāṭī, as already stated, or Laḍī, as the Arab travellers call it

Among the immigrants by sea during the early centuries of the Christian era were the Brahmans and other settlers

on the Vaitaranā and in Śūrpāraka from Gujarat and Sind, Arabs in the 7th, 8th and 9th centuries, Parsi refugees from Persia in the 8th and 9th centuries, Arab and Persian traders and refugees, Gujaratis who followed the Chālukyan conquerors in the 10th and 11th centuries, and immigrants from Kathiawad and Gujarāt who escaped from Arab and Turkish persecution

The Muslim rule between A D 1300 and 1534 left the first legacy of an Indian Muslim settlement at Mahim in Bombay The Portuguese rule brought the Konkani-speaking Christians who mainly consist of persons of Portuguese-Koli descent or Kolis by conversion In 1671 Aungier invited the traders from Surat, as also bricklayers and labourers in large numbers to build Bombay The scavengers in Bombay are mostly Gujarati-speaking and also appear to have come from Kathiawad and **Surat** about that time In the 18th century the Brahmins from Cambay and Kapol Banias from Gujarat settled in North Konkan and Bombay The great famine of 1803 brought many fugitives from Gujarat—Jains, Khojas, Memons, and Bohras, the last three being Muslims About this time also came the Bhatias and Lohanas from Saurashtra and Cutch The Ghats were yet uncrossed by a highway The East India Company was at war with the Marathas till 1818 and there was no large-scale immigration from Mahārāshtra into North Konkan or Bombay The plateau was first opened up in 1865 by the G I P Railway

The position of language in 1885 is thus summarised 'North of Umbargaon Gujarati is spoken by all classes The people understand Marathi and use a good many Marathi words, but the bulk of the vocabulary and the grammar is Gujarati From Umbargaon south as far as the Vaitarna between the coast and the railway the language of almost all classes except Maratha Brahmans and other late immigrants, is also Gujarati rather than Marathi and along the Dahanu coast where Gujarati is taught in the Government schools, the Gujarati element is so strong as to make the ordinary speech unintelligible to any one who knows Marathi only'

The Gujarati-speaking people at present are thus distributed —

| | |
|---|---|
| India | 16,311,090 |
| Bombay | 11,413,554 |
| Saurashtra | 4,018,438 |
| Kachha | 560,493 |

The Gujaratis, 523,127 strong are the second largest minority in Greater Bombay with its population of 2,839,270 persons, the largest minority is Marathi-speaking 1,236,874 and the next third largest is Hindi-Urdu speaking, comprising 493,298 persons

During the British period, Gujaratis by their intelligence and enterprise, wealth and culture have added a distinctive pattern to this multi-lingual tract

V

Between modern and ancient Gujarāt 'there lies a gulf of mystery which the prose of the historian will never adequately bridge' We can, however, discern through the mist of incomplete evidence collected by diligent scholars, four oustanding personalities of Gujarāt history Lakulīśa, Jayasimha-Siddharāja, Hemachandra, and Kumārapāla They shaped to a great extent the destiny of Gujarāt, and have bequeathed to us a rich heritage of religious fervour, political wisdom and scholarship

The soil of Gujarāt was unfitted for a Śankara or Chaitanya it could not produce a great lover like Chandidāsa But Somanātha was the centre of Śaivism, and Dvārakā the most important seat of Vaishnavism in India There can be no doubt that the preponderance of Śaiva cult in Gujarāt was due to the influence of Lakulīśa, who established in the early part of the second century the most important of the Śaiva sects, the Pāśupatas Before the fourth century, he was deified Evidence of Lakulīśa worship has been found at many places in India, at Mathura, at the Carnatic districts, at Gujarāt, at Rajputana and at Bhuvanesvar In his *Sarvadarśanasamgraha,* Mādhavāchārya recognised Lakulīśa-Pāśupata doctrine as one of the sixteen important philosophical systems of India Later the Pāśupata sect was associated with the great resurgence

which began from the 7th century, and spread over the whole country

It is not possible to discuss here the Lakulīśa doctrine and its influence over Gujarāt and India So we pass on to Siddharāja, the maker of modern Gujarat, inasmuch as it was due to him that for the first time the whole of modern Gujarati speaking area was brought under one government and modern Gujarāt became for the first time the centre of Gurjaradeśa Kumārapāla ably continued the policy and maintained the position of Gujarāt as one of the strongest powers in India With all his Jaina proclivities, he left a sufficiently strong army, which, four years after his death, led by a dowager queen and her minor son the king—queen Naikādevī and Mūlarāja II—signally defeated Mui'zz-ud-Din Muhammad of Ghor Mūlarāja II is now practically forgotten, but all the chronicles which were written mostly by the peace-loving Jaina monks, have, without exception, sung the praise of this gallant prince for his bravery and valour on the field of battle, it was their tribute of grateful recognition that Mūlarāja had succeeded where the Chāhamāna emperor Prithvīrāja had failed so disastrously

But the most familiar name that emerges from this period is that of Hemachandra Called *'kali-kāla-sarvajña'* even during his life, he has been given by modern European scholars the fitting epithet of 'the polymath' He remains the greatest scholar that Gujarāt has ever produced

Hemachandra has sometimes been accused of plagiarism [21] It is quite natural that he was deeply indebted to his predecessors and has borrowed from them whenever necessary, sometimes without acknowledgment "But this need not detract from the merits of the work since Indian writers do not make a fetish of the originality either of thought or of language" [22] The writings of predecessors are looked upon as public property and they are used with perfect freedom and impunity He gave to Gujarāt a

21 S K De *A Study in the History of Sanskrit Poetics* 203 f n
22 Hemachandra *Pramāna Mīmāmsā*, tr by S Mukherjee and N Tatia under the title, *'A Critique of the Organ of Knowledge'*, Preface, III

regional consciousness and established its primacy in the schools of learning for centuries

## VI

Like other units of India distinguished by the dominance of a single language, Gujarāt had an independent social and cultural entity from the earliest times  Each of such provinces possesses a common stock of traditions and values and social outlook which was set working by the early Aryans in India and developed during the course of history peculiar to itself  All of them have employed and do employ now the structure, wealth and tradition of Sanskrit for their fuller literary expression  They all throb with common ideals and cherish a common will

Thus, India has for centuries realized what to many nations is yet a dream  a fundamental national and cultural unity expressing itself through the diversity of independent and free regional life and literature  The underlying cultural unity has, however, waged through centuries an unceasing war against the centrifugal forces tending to disrupt it and, in spite of apparent divergencies, the history of different regional literatures stands out as a triumphant assertion of the unity of India

These forces, in the ultimate analysis, can be traced to the geographical determinants of Gujarāt  its natural frontiers and its soil  Protected by the sea on the west, by the sands of Kaccha and Rajputana on the north, by the Aravalli, the plateau of Malva, the Vindhyas, the Satpudas and the jungles on the east and south, which before the modern period rendered access to Salsette and Bombay impossible except by the sail, its rich alluvial soil has reared a race of men and women, soft and luxury-loving and yet possessing qualities which maritime activities generally foster and stimulate, a spirit of enterprise, practical wisdom, catholicity of taste and social flexibility  The plateau of Mālava (between 1000 to 2000 feet above the sea level) made it easily accessible to the resident of Madhyadeśa for colonisation, and cultural and political conquests  The little gateway formed by the Satpudas and the *ghats*, roughly between Daman and Nasik, made

Gujarāt a corridor between north India and the south letting in influences from the Deccan

## VII

Gujarāt's proximity to the sea has been responsible for the ceaseless mercantile and maritime activities of its people, in fact the sea was their natural field of enterprise Some of the ports of Gujarāt date back to the dawn of history, and have, at one time or another, enjoyed international importance Through them, trade and commerce brought riches which overflowed the land From them, streams of enterprising colonizers went out to distant lands Kuśasthalī (Dwārikā) was a port through which perhaps the Panis of Rigveda, doubtfully identified with the Phoenicians (Paniks-Punic), carried on an international trade Māhishmatī of Sahasrārjuna and Śūrpāraka (Sopara), the Ophir of the Old Testament, were sea ports of considerable importance The *Jātakas* record the maritime importance of Bhrigu-kaccha (Broach) from *c* B C 600 All later history shows how till c A D 1700 this city was the great entrepôt which maintained India's commercial intercourse with the world

Ptolemy (A D 140) mentions Veraval, Mangrol and Porbandar as large ports, even now they carry on considerable sea-borne trade Under the Chālukya and the Vāghelā kings of Gujarāt (961-1299) the ports of Ghoghā and Khambhāta (Cambay), a much older port, rose to great prominence, the former being the base of the royal fleet The latter outgrew Broach in international importance and was the resort of merchants from every part of the globe The early Portuguese traders called its merchants 'our keenest rivals, our merchantmen, our richest prizes' Under the Moghul Empire, Surat became the premier port of the country Before the British came, the flag of Gujarāt is stated to have flown in eighty-four ports, twenty-three of which were on the western coast, and the rest in foreign lands During the British rule, Bombay, as far as its trade and commerce are concerned, is largely in Gujarati hands Bhavnagar, Okha and Bedi in Saurashtra have come into prominence lately, in the nineteenth

century a Gujarati merchant had the largest mercantile fleet in Bombay  Kandla in Kaccha is a new port in the making

The maritime activity of Gujarāt was not restricted merely to commerce  So early as c. B C 500, Prince Vijaya sailed from Simhapura (Sihor) near modern Bhavnagar and settled in Ceylon, and since then it had a close maritime intercourse with Bhrigukaccha and Śūrpāraka  According to *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, a princess from Ceylon built a Jaina temple at Broach, and the well-known proverb of today— "लकानी लाडी न घोघानो वर" "the bride of Ceylon and the bridegroom of Ghogha"—apparently has had its origin in some long-forgotten incident  There is evidence of the Gujaratis, in c A D 200, having brought presents from China by sea, of Indian ships, presumably Gujarati, having plied in Persian and African ports in c A D 100, and of Hindu settlements having existed in Sokotra about the same time  Naushirvan (A D 531-574), the great Sassanian monarch of Persia, invaded Sindh with a fleet manned by sailors from Kaccha  Hiuen Tsiang (A D 630) records that the people of Saurāshtra occupied themselves with commerce

In the seventh century, a ruler of Gujarāt, forewarned of the impending doom which was to overtake his kingdom, sailed away with his followers from his native soil in six large and a hundred small vessels to lay the foundation of a new civilisation in Java  Gujarāt maintained a colony there, and the wealth brought from Java has passed into a proverb  जे जाय जावे ते कदी नो आवे, न जो आवे तो परीआंना परीआं चावे एटलुं धन लावे.

"He who goes to Java never returns, but if he does, he brings so much wealth that his grand-children's grand-children will not exhaust it"

Friar Oderic (A D 1321) voyaged across the Indian Ocean in a vessel manned by Gujaratis, and Gujarati sailors, according to the authority of Vasco-de-Gama, knew how to guide their ships not only by the stars but by nautical instruments of their own  The Sultans of Gujarāt proudly bore the title of 'Lords of the Sea', and the Sanger Rajputs of Kaccha and Navanagar were well known for

their skill in ship-building during the Sultanate The East India Company, in c A D 1735, found in Dhunjibhai of Surat, a master architect of ships Early in the nineteenth century, Motīśā, a Jain merchant, owned the largest mercantile fleet in Bombay In the 20th century Gujarati merchants have been found trading with many parts of the globe and the only inter-continental steamship company in India which came into existence in the British period is the result of Gujarati enterprise The physical conditions of Gujarāt have practically remained the same though their exploitation by men increased both in scope and intensity in the nineteenth century

## VIII

These persistent activities of the people of Gujarāt through the ages led to the rise among them of a well-to-do middle class which dominated social life, influenced politics, laid down traditions and shared with kings the patronage of literature

Acquisition of wealth became an important if not the sole end of life, and the display of it a great virtue The cosmopolitan spirit of this class, born of international intercourse, did not favour an ascetical or exclusive outlook on life, but fostered the instinct of adaptability and catholicity of spirit Social inequality was based as much on wealth as on birth and tended towards uniformity As a further result, life in the whole province became dynamic The people gained vast experience and a wide outlook on all matters. Foreigners came to settle among them and were in time absorbed into the community Neither the feudal nor the intellectual aristocracy was powerful enough to check this endless process of levelling and adjustment Women waited on masters who were neither fierce warriors nor proud *pandits,* and in southern Gujarāt particularly, acquired great freedom, sharing with men the burden of life and exerting their influence on the environment in a manner unknown in other provinces of India

The soil of the mainland, watered by the rivers Tapi, Narmada, Mahi and Sabarmati, is rich and varied, and made agriculture a lucrative pursuit, and in years with a

good rainfall gave to almost the whole of the rural area more than enough to live on  As large tracts were under cotton cultivation even in pre-British days, the cotton industry flourished in towns and villages which poured out their products into distant lands, including Great Britain  The peasantry consequently has always been shrewd, intelligent and, to some extent, cultured, and, of late, has been the most actively political-minded group of its kind in the world  Till recently, prosperity through commerce, industry and agriculture has prevented any very great disparity between the economic, religious or cultural level of the urban and rural areas  The man of commerce aspires to be a landlord, the agriculturist comes to the city or crosses the seas in search of trade profits and on his return invests his savings in land  These conditions, however, do not exist in Kathiavad or Kaccha, where the towns were till recently camps of ruling chiefs and the villages were the homes of a hard-working and oppressed peasantry

## IX

The above features moulded the national characteristics and tastes  Popular imagination centred around the hero of commerce returning from foreign lands in vessels laden with riches, around the moral and the peaceful, around the charitable, the philanthropic and the wordly wise  These general traits took different colours in different areas  Even the author of *Kuvalayamālā* (*c* A C 779) saw this difference and expressed it thus

> There I saw the Gurjjara people  They have strong bodies, are nourished on *ghee* and butter, are devout, clever in negotiations, and speak *'nau re bhallaum'* Then I saw the people of Lāta  They part their hair they besmear their bodies with scent, their bodies are beautiful to look at  They speak *'amhe kāum tumham'*

This distinction between North and South Gujarāt remains true after twelve hundred years  The people of the north, generally, are serious-minded, steady, religious and of heavy build, those of the south are pleasure-loving,

possess a greater sense of humour and enjoy life And this distinction again has led to the rise of two distinct currents of literature the one, conservative, intellectual sombre, puritanic, the other, progressive, light, rich in humour, and vivacious

The people of Saurashtra display their outstanding characteristics except where centuries of diplomacy or tyranny have destroyed their spirit They are strong and bold, with unforgotten traditions of a warlike past, hospitable, generous and impulsive These men have given to the folklore of Kathiavad its romantic charm and its burning passion Those who follow mercantile pursuits, though less catholic, refined and sentimental than their brothers of the mainland, are hard-headed and calculating The people of Kaccha share the same traits in a large measure and, in addition, possess a rare spirit of enterprise and a wonderful instinct for business organisation

> "धयल्लोणिय पुट्ठगे धम्मवरे सधिविग्गहे निउणे ।
> नउरि भल्लउ भणिरे अह पेच्छइ गुज्जरे अवरे ॥
> ण्हाओलित्तविलित्ते कयसीमते सोहियगत्ते ।
> अम्ह काउ तुम्ह भणिरे अह पेच्छइ लाडे ॥"

The problems which faced Gujarāt in the past were How to resist the agencies working for disruption, and how to absorb the alien influences which from time to time threatened its culture For, this rich and fertile province was always a tempting prize for conquerors since the earliest days

## X

The active participation of women in all walks of life, an ordinary feature of modern life, has not been unknown in the past Mīnaladevī who ruled Gujarāt during Siddharāja's infancy, Anupamādevī who assisted her husband Tejahpāla, and Mirānbāī, the poetess, were not creatures of fiction or freaks Widows and mothers have frequently carried on the family business And in modern times a period of less than a generation saw them taking their legitimate place in many walks of life

Ethical, religious and spiritual ideals have always been modified in Gujarāt to suit its temperament High spiritua-

lity and learning have been always neglected in favour of a practical application of moral principles Gujarāt has been the home of magnificent temples and charitable and philanthropic institutions In old times, the Jain *sādhu*, the humble *pāurānik* and the village *bhakta* brought solace and help to the poor and the distressed *Ahimsā* has, at all times, leavened corporate life For ages there has been scarcely a town or a large village without its *sadāvrata* to feed the poor, its *pānjrāpol* to house maimed cattle Kumārapāla and Hemachandra made of it a political doctrine

Gujarāt, however, prefers the joy of life to ascetic rigour The high-browed Brahman and the stern *sādhu* have come and gone Akho taught all the horrors of this fleeting world Svāminārāyan's puritanical teachings and in recent years even Mahatma Gandhi's gospel or renunciation have held its soul in subjugation only for a time But Gujarāt has a genius of its own Its sons and daughters will make money and spend it on the arts of life, they will live and laugh, and love and sing joyfully

# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| *BG* | *Bombay Gazetteer* |
| *Bh P* | *Bhāgavata Purāna* |
| *BK* | *Bhavisattakaha* of Dhanapāla Edited by C D Dalal and P D Gune |
| *BV* | *Bhāratīya Vidyā* |
| *CC* | *Catalogus Catalogorum* By T Aufrecht |
| *BPSI* | *Bhavnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions* |
| *Dv* | *Dvyāśraya of Hemacandra* |
| *EAG* | *Early Aryans in Gujarata* By K M Munshi |
| *EI* | *Epigraphia Indica* |
| *Ep Ind* | " " |
| *GIL* | *Geschichte des Indischen Litteratur* By M Winternitz |
| *GG* | *The Glory that was Gūrjaradesa* By K M Munshi |
| *GOS* | *Gaekwad's Oriental Series* |
| *Hari* | *Harivamśa* |
| *HCSL* | *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* By M Krishnamachariar |
| *HIED* | *History of India as told by its Own Historians* By Elliot and Dawson |
| *HIL* | *History of Indian Literature* By M Winternitz |
| *HK* | *History of Kanauj* By R S Tripathi |
| *HSL* | *History of Sanskrit Literature* By Dasgupta and De |
| *IA* | *Indian Antiquary* |
| IC | *Indian Culture* |
| *IG* | *The Imperial Gūrjaras* By K M Munshi |
| *JBBRAS* | *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* |
| *JRAS* | *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *KHDS* | *History of Dharmaśāstra* By P V Kane |
| *KK* | *Kīrtikaumudī of Someśvara* |
| *KM* | *Kāvyamālā Series* |
| *KPS* | *Kumārapālapratibodha of Somaprabha* Edited by Muni Jinavijaya |
| *LSI* | *Linguistic Survey of India* |
| *Mbh* | *Mahābhārata* |
| *ND* | *Nāṭyadarpaṇa* |
| *NHIP* | *New History of Indian People* By R C Majumdar and A S Altekar |
| *NSC* | *Navasāhasānkacarita of Padmagupta* |
| *P* | *Purāṇa* |
| *PC* | *Prabandhacintāmaṇi of Merutunga* |
| *PV* | *Prakrit Vyākaraṇa of Hemachandra* |
| *R E* | *Rock Edicts* |
| *RKM* | *Kāvyamīmāmsā of Rājaśekhara* |
| *RT* | *Rājataranginī of Kalhaṇa* |
| *SILH* | *Studies in Indian Literary History* By P K Gode |

# CONTENTS

## PART I

### CHAPTER I



### CHAPTER II



### CHAPTER III



### CHAPTER IV



### CHAPTER V



### CHAPTER VI



### CHAPTER VII



## PART II

### CHAPTER I



### CHAPTER II



### CHAPTER III



### CHAPTER IV



### CHAPTER V

## MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

68
70
72
74
26
24
22
20
18
INDIAN DESERT
RANA OF KACCHA
TROPIC OF CANCER
PHYSICAL MAP
OF
GUJARĀTA
ABOVE 4000 FT
2000-4000 FT
1000-2000 FT
BELOW 1000 FT

## CHAPTER I

# THE ARYAN COLONIES OF THE WEST, THEIR LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE (A D 500)

**Protohistorical and prehistorical conditions The Nāgas Early Aryan occupation ( ? to A D 500) Traditional accounts Sahasrārjuna and Haihayas Bhrigus Yādavas Mauryas (390-197 B C ) Greeks (189-100 B C ) Western Kshatrapas (c 70 B C to A D 398)—Guptas (c 390 to A D 467)—The Āsramas and Aryan Culture—Aryan Centres—Ābhīras—Their origin and status Aryan influence under Guptas —Languages— the Outer and Midland Bands of Aryans and their dialects Prakrīts —*Dharmakathā*—*Tarangalolā* a social *dharmakathā***

GUJARĀT including Kāthiāwār or to use its classical name now restored, Saurāshtra, had a long proto-historic past In a remote period, before the Himālayas rose in the place of an ocean and when its present rivers were being formed, Early Man wandered on their banks Possibly the Dublās, Mināš, Dhediās, Chaudhrās, Vārlis and Kātkaris, who inhabit the triangle south of the Narmadā between the sea and the ghāts, are the descendants of these dark-skinned and stunted people The Kolis, whose ancient habitat was in Gujarāt and Saurāshtra, are possibly the descendants of another race of early men who lived here in the stone age

The so-called Indus Civilisation (3500-2750B C ) was not restricted to the valley of the Sindhu There is definite evidence that it also extended to Sindh, Saurāshtra and the region of the Narmadā and the Tāpi[1] It was at the ports of Broach and Cambay that the carnelian industry of India appears to have been concentrated The western coastal region of the Indian peninsula, Saurāshtra, the valleys of the North Western Frontier Province, Sindh, the Punjab, the Upper Doāb, if not the whole Gangetic and the habitable parts of Rājputāna were thus comprised within the limits of a civilization which can

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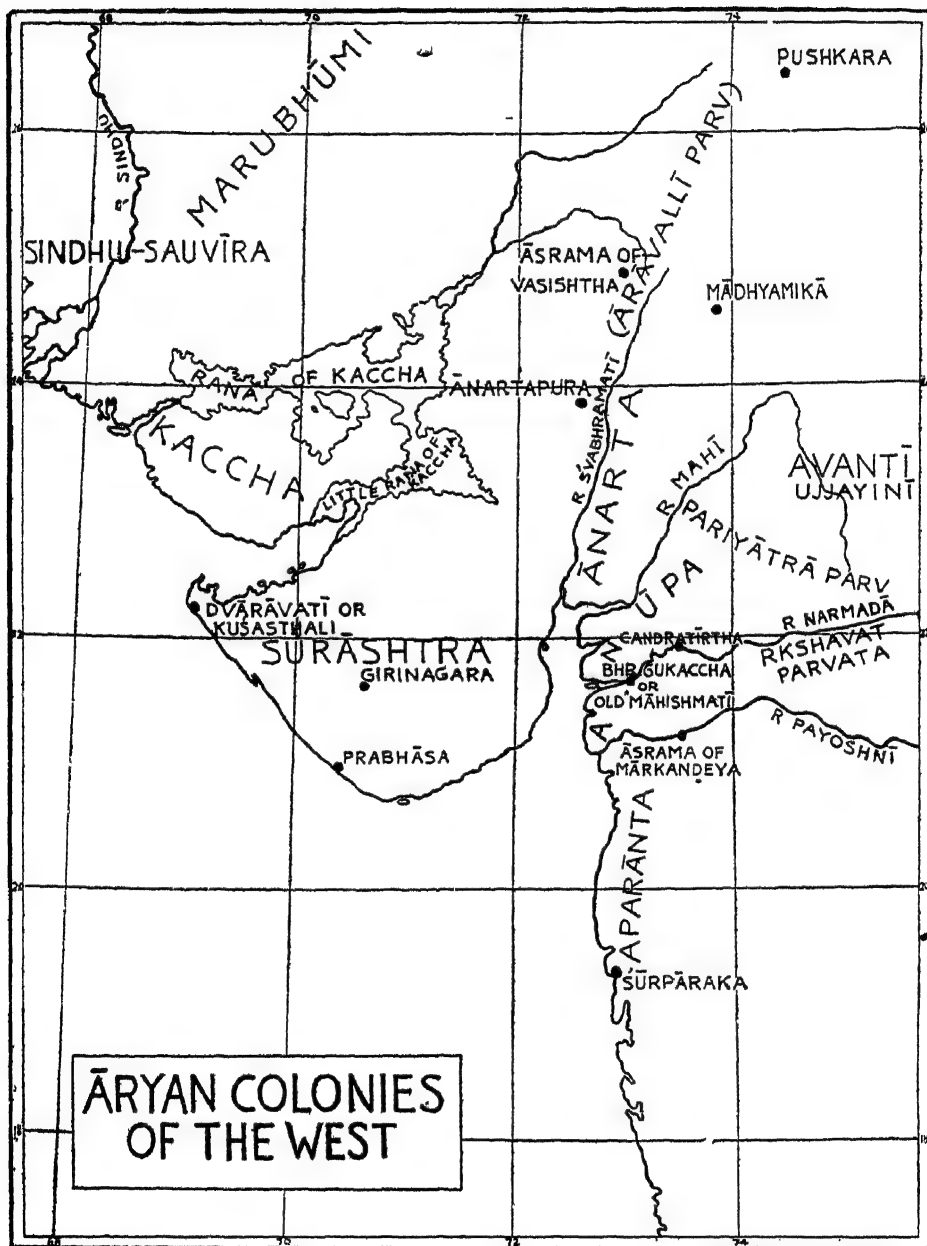
1 Dikshit, *Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus Valley*, p 12

ĀRYAN COLONIES OF THE WEST

approximately be called proto-Indian The people whose culture is discernible in the ruins of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappā may be Dravidians [2]

I

It is difficult to say when the Aryans arrived in India or penetrated into Gujarāt But the first Aryan conqueror from the North who raided the country into the Narmadā found the Nāgas already in occupation The Ratthikas who occupied Saurāshtra in the days of Aśoka and who may have given their name to Su-rath (Saurāshtra), Mahā-ratha (Mahārāshtra), Rāthoḍs (Rāshtrakūtas) and Reddis of Telengana were also early occupants of Gujarāt The early Aryan and the earliest available literature referred to all these early inhabitants as Nāgas

The seafaring branch of the Kolis is known as Khārwās, 'the residents of the salt-areas' These early sailors, moving in small country craft, founded several ports from Pātāla in Sindh to Māhim, now part of Bombay City, Bhrigukachchha and Śūrpāraka being the famous entrepôts by the seventh century before Christ

The Bhils had their original homeland in Gujarāt Possibly they were Dravidians Whether they had any relation with the Indus people or the Ābhīras of a later age is not quite clear

The first wave of Aryan immigrants in Gujarāt perhaps consisted of the Śāryātas, a tribe claiming descent from Manu, and the Bhrigus, the martial priests, who traced their descent from the sage Bhrigu [3] There is evidence to show that Aryan tribes called Saurāshṭras, Ānartas, Bhrigukachchhas, Aparāntas and Konkanas occupied the

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2 Banerji, *Prehistoric, Ancient & Hindu India,* p 10, Hunter *Script of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro,* p 12, Heras, *Journal of the Benares Hindu University,* II pp. 7-12, etc

3 Munshi, *GG* I pp 49-52

entire seacoast from Sindh to Bombay[4] Possibly the historic tradition of Bhrigus and Śāryātas is based on the folk-lore of these tribes The myth runs that the eponymous Śaryāti and Chyavana, the Bhrigu, found a home in this distant land[5] A son of the former, Ānarta, gave his name to North Gujarāt Perhaps Ānarta also was the name of a tribe, and Ānartapura (Ānandapura, modern Vadnagar) was one of the earliest centres of Aryan Culture Chyavana's *āśrama* was situated on the banks of the Narmadā, possibly near Rājpipla, if what Yudhishthira was told during his pilgrimage to these parts[6] had any element of truth in it The Bhrigus had Bhrigutīrthas on the Narmadā The next wave of immigrants settled in Saurāshtra, where Haryaśva, a Yādava king, founded a kingdom Girinagara (Junāgadh), Kuśasthalī and Prabhāsa were the earliest Aryan settlements in the peninsula[7]

Later Sahasrārjuna Kārtavīrya of the Haihaya tribe, a branch of the Yādavas, a great conqueror, turned his attention to this land Kārtavīrya did not like the pretensions of the Midland Aryans who were laying the foundations of small states and a great civilization in the north Once, the myth runs, he killed the sage Jamad-

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4 *Mārkandeya* P, 57 49 52, 58 22, *Matsya* P, 114 50-51, *Vayu* P, 45 128-131

महेन्द्रमलयाद्रौ च दर्दुरे च वसति ये ।
कर्कोटकवने ये च भृगुकच्छा सकोङ्कणाः ॥ मार्कण्डेय ५८-२१
वासिक्याश्चैव ये चान्ये ये चैवान्तरनर्मदा ।
भारुकच्छा समाहेया सहसारस्वतैस्तथा ॥ मत्स्य, ११४-५०
काच्छीकाश्चैव सौराष्ट्रा आनर्ता अर्बुदै सह ।
इत्येते अपरान्तास्तु शृणु ये विन्ध्यवासिन ॥

5 *Matsya* P, 12 21-22, *Hari*, 1 10 29, 31, *Vishnu* P, IV 1 1

आनर्तो नाम शर्याते सुकन्या चैव दारिका ॥ मत्स्य, १२-२१
आनर्तस्याभवत्पुत्रो रोचमानः प्रतापवान् ।
आनर्तो नाम देशोऽभून्नगरी च कुशस्थली ॥ २२

6 *Mbh* III 87 10,

आश्रम कक्षसेनस्य पुण्यस्तत्र युधिष्ठिर ।
च्यवनस्याश्रमश्चैव ख्यातः सर्वत्र पाण्डव ।
तत्राल्पेनैव सिध्यन्ति मानवास्तपसा विभो ॥

7 *Hari*, II 37, 38

agni, a Bhrigu of the Midland and an associate of the great Viśvāmitra, and drew upon himself the wrath of his son, the fierce Rāma This dauntless young warrior, worshipped for generations under the name of Paraśurāma as a teacher of the martial art and as the sixth incarnation of Vishnu, vanquished his father's murderer, razed Māhishmatī to the ground and promoted Aryan settlements on the Narmadā Kārtavīrya's empire, for such it was, included Anūpa, and Ānarta (South and North Gujarāt), Saurāshtra (Kāthiāwāi), Avanti (Mālwā) and Śūrasena (Mathurā), thus clearly indicating that these outlying provinces formed a homogeneous group of colonies [8] The myth that Paraśurāma, in no less than twenty-one campaigns, destroyed all kings is suggestive of the incessant war which the Bhrigus had to carry on against the Haihayas In his old age the warrior made Śūrpāraka his home and brought in his train the culture of Āryāvarta This event cannot possibly be put later than 1400 B C

Nothing definite is heard of Ānarta or Saurāshtra till we come to the period of the great Bhārata war between the Kurus and the Pāṇḍus Some decades before that epoch-making conflict, the Yādavas of Śūrasena rose against their king Kamsa of Mathurā Krishna, the young Yādava hero, killed him Later, fleeing before the wrath of Jarāsandha, the king of Magadha and the father-in-law of Kamsa, the Yādavas came to these hospitable colonies, led by Śrī Krishna, and his brother Baladeva In Ānarta and Saurāshtra, they ultimately settled Ugrasena ruled his kingdom from Dvārakā with the aid of Śrī Krishna, who very soon came to be regarded as the supreme representative of Aryan culture and statecraft

The Āranyaka-parva (Vanaparva) of the *Mahābhārata* contains a narrative of Yudhishthira's pilgrimage through Gujarāt [9] When this eldest son of Pāṇḍu visited the land, he found Aparānta, the sea-board to the north of Bombay, studded with Aryan colonies Mārkaṇḍeya

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8 cf Munshi, *EAG* pp 29-31, 68-69
9 *Mbh* III 118-121

had an *āśrama* or hermitage on the Payoshnī, identified by some with the river Tāpi,[10] the Bhrigus had *āśramas* on the Narmadā During the war all eyes turned to Dvārakā's great statesman for bringing about a decisive issue The Yādava heroes with their unruly tribesmen took part in the great war, and returned home only to destroy each other

A few miles from Prabhāsa in Kāthiāwār the spot is pointed out where Śrī Krishna fell, pierced by an arrow Tradition has hallowed the spot, a venerable tree throws its kindly shade over it, a small river flows sluggishly by to join the sea

The succeeding centuries are a blank till we come to the records of the Mauryan empire of Magadha During this period, Gujarāt was occupied by the non-Aryan Nishādas, whose modern descendants are called Bhils Ptolemy refers to various tribes as occupying these regions, but it is doubtful whether what he calls tribes were distinct ethnic groups He calls, for instance, Horatae, a tribe,[11] in fact they are the same as the people called Saurāshtras, and we know from Pānini that Saurāshtras were the residents of Saurāshtra The Ābhīras are also associated, at least from before the first century B C, with Saurāshtra and were absorbed among the Yādavas, indicating that the Aryan Yādavas, as a race, had persisted throughout this period Possibly Chandragupta Maurya (323-298 B C) brought both Ānarta and Saurāshṭra within the fold of an empire dominated by Aryan influences from Madhyadeśa Buddhism and Jainism obtained a foot-hold in these parts a little later Aśoka (272-232 B C) ruled over Saurāshṭra

10 *Mbh* III 86 4 5, also Pargiter, *Mārkanḍeya P*, pp 299, 335, 365

राजर्षेस्तस्य च सरिन्नृगस्य भरतर्षभ।
रम्यतीर्था बहुजला पयोष्णी द्विजसेविता॥ ४
अपि चात्र महायोगी मार्कण्डेयो महातपाः।
अनुवंश्यां जगौ गाथा नृगस्य धरणीपते॥ ५

11 cf *BG* I Part I p 434 f, Cunningham, *Ancient Geography of India* (Ed Majumdar Sastri), pp 352 ff, Law, *Tribes in Ancient India*, p. 348

through a Greek governor, Yavana Thera by name. His edicts (240 B C ), inscribed on a rock, can still be seen as one climbs to the top of Mount Girnār from Junāgadh

After the break-up of the Mauryan empire (197 B C.) these distant provinces were ruled by Apollodotus, the Bactrain Greek, and later by Menander (148-126 B C ), the Bactrian king of Kābul, known in Buddhistic literature as Milinda In c 80 B C or a little earlier, the Bactrian Greeks were conquered by the Śakas or Scythians According to tradition they were driven out from Ujjayinī in c 56 B C The first century after Christ saw another Scythian chief with the title of Kshatrapa (Satrap) occupying Saurāshtra Kshatrapa Nahapāna (A D 78-120) ruled over Gujarāt, but it soon passed into the hands of the Āndhra king Gautamīputra Sātakarni This champion of Brahmanism as well as Buddhism, at one time held sway over the whole country watered by the Godāvarī, and also over Berār, Mālwā, Gujarāt and North Konkan During this time South Gujarāt came under the active influence of the Deccan

Soon after Gautamīputra's death, about A D 128 another Kshatrapa wrested Mālwā and Gujarāt from the hands of his son Rudradāman I (A D 143-158), grandson of the Kshatrapa Chashtana, ruled over Ānarta, Anūpa, Kachchha, Saurāshtra, Avantī, Maru, Sindhu-Sauvīra and Aparānta, that is, over South Rājputāna, Mālwā, Gujarāt, including both Kāthiāwār and Kachchha and North Konkan [12] Once again, Kārtavīrya's empire was revived and consolidated by the conquering arms of a foreigner's Aryanised grandson Rudradāman I was learned and accomplished and recorded his achievement in Sanskrit on the Girnār rock which already bore Aśoka's inscription

The Śaka Kshatrapas ruled long over Gujarāt, but bowed before the overpowering might of Samudra-gupta (A D 380), the greatest conqueror known to Indian History, and were destroyed by Chandra-gupta II (c 387-397)

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12 cf *NHIP* VI p 47, Junāgadh Rock Inscription of Rudradāman (Sircar's *Select Inscriptions* No. 67)

Chandra-gupta, who proudly bore the title of Vikramāditya, ruled Gujarāt from Ujjayinī, the seat of an intensely fostered Sanskritic culture, and thus Gujarāt, for a century, remained an integral part of an empire which stood for Aryan culture at its best On the very rock near Mount Girnār which bore the inscriptions of Aśoka and Rudradāman, Skanda-gupta's viceroy of Gujarāt, Parnadatta, recorded his master's victory over the Hūnas (A D 456) Skanda-gupta died about A D 467 and the Guptas lost the province of Gujarāt soon after South Gujarāt was ruled by the Traikūtakas (A D 450-495)

## II

Though these colonies, Anūpa, Ānarta, Saurāshtra, Kachchha and Aparānta, were administered by Madhyadeśa only intermittently, they were always dominated by Aryan Culture The early Aryan settlers brought with them their own civilization, and always looked for fresh inspiration to the home of their ancestors They married the daughters of the inhabitants freely and naturally imposed their superior civilization on those with whom they so mingled Later waves of Indo-Aryans came from different parts of North India and settled in these colonies Each of them retained its exclusive corporate existence, though evolving, with others, a common life on the Aryan model In convenient centres, adventurous Rishis established their hermitages—*āśramas*— which preserved the high traditions of Aryan life in all its purity There the Rishis lived,—their character, learning and ideals, their only source of power and influence,—uplifting and unifying, and radiating Aryan ideals in thought, word and deed These *āśramas* were the strongholds of civilization They flourished in an unbroken chain all over India, and maintained living contact with each other and with the seats of learning in the Gangetic valley and in the forests of Brahmāvarta and Naimisha, where new ways of life and thought were being brought into existence by great sages, under the name of *dharma*

The *dharma*, which, even in the Vedic and post-Vedic times was growing towards its ultimate scope and content, was the overarching law of life It comprised rituals and myths, modes of life and canons of conduct, traditions, a wealth of language and literature, a theory of life and social organisation, and living ideals Historic continuity was preserved through a belief in the *Vedas* as the ultimate source of all inspiration The mythology embraced sacred legends of rivers, mountains, cities, royal houses, semi-divine heroes and sages, which made the past a vital heritage to every succeeding age

The social organisation was based on a family life dominated by strong patriarchal traditions It afforded shelter to every needy and helpless member, and as a corollary, imposed strict regard for feminine virtue so essential to preserve the purity of race and culture It was based on the hierarchy of social groups divided according to the standard of culture attained by each At its head stood the Brāhmanas devoted to learning, contemplation and self-discipline The hierarchical organisation permitted a new-comer to benefit by, but never to destroy, social achievements, and offered scope to the uncultured to rise in the scale of life, but never so fast as to jeopardise its stability

Sanskrit, a language perfect in structure and elastic in expression, with a rich, varied, magnificent literary achievement, was the living embodiment of the *dharma* Finally, all conduct was regulated by one unchanging supreme code of ethical values Though running through a diversity of religious beliefs, it insisted on the observance of the great vows—*mahā-vratas*—of non-violence, truth, non-stealing, continence and non-possession [13] The fundamental of this *dharma* from the beginning was the supreme faith in human endeavour, self-discipline (*saṁyama*) and asceticism (*tapas*) These alone could lead a man to transcend his limitations and become divine in

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13. *Yogasāstra*, II 30.

अहिसासत्याऽस्तेयब्रह्मचर्याऽपरिग्रहा यमाः।

this life Emphasis was laid on individual experience and becoming, rather than on belief and scriptural word And its base was a living conception of Āryāvarta, the sacred land of the Aryans, leavened by an abiding veneration for those who lived and died so that it may endure great and eternal

The Rishis called this culture *'dharma'* which generally means a sum-total of all sentiments, beliefs, values and activities which make life, literature and country worth living for And the effort which it made for self-expression through adverse circumstances, is the central theme of Indian history during the last three thousand years

From the beginning of their occupation of India, the Aryans' hold over the country was more cultural than political or economic It was a conquest made by men who, generation after generation, created or studied literature, sacred or profane, at Banaras, Taxila, Nālandā, Mathurā, Ujjayinī and a hundred other similar places They lived under trying, if not well-nigh impossible, conditions and gave to the people, in return for a meagre maintenance, religion, ethics, literature, mythology, and above all, a self-conscious cultural unity The problem before them was the absorption of the foreign, the depressed and the backward elements of society around them into the fold of their civilization Since the day when the mythic Śaryāti put his foot on this land, successive generations of such men largely Aryanised this province

Girinagara, Ānartapura, Prabhāsa and Chandratīrtha (Chandod) attracted Brāhmanas from all parts of the country Ujjayinī, a great distributing centre of culture, always dominated Gujarāt There was an *āśrama* of Vasishṭha near Ābu, of Kapila near Siddhapura, of Bhrigu on the Narmadā, of Mārkaṇḍeya on the Payoshnī

But Gujarāt was far away from Madhyadeśa, and the culture she received suffered both in purity and vigour in the process of transplantation. The *Mahābhārata* states that the Kshatriyas of this land had lost their status as they had no Brāhmana to perform their ritual so very

essential in the life of an Aryan[14] The *Vishnu Purāna* enjoined that those who visited Saurāshtra should undergo purification[15] Aśoka had evidently regarded a Greek as good enough to be the governor of this frontier colony Non-Brahmanical Aryan doctrines like those of Buddhism and Jainism had found a refuge here During the rule of the Satrap Nahapāna, the Brāhmanas had even taken Greek women in marriage The *Varnāśrama Dharma*, recognising only the four main castes, was accepted in theory In practice, however, it gave rise to a system which treated every small autonomous group of settlers as a separate caste A spirit of tolerance pervaded the social atmosphere The culture was evidently well-distributed though not of a very high order In Gujarāt the absence of a large class of orthodox Brāhmanas with traditions of learning, as in Bengal or Mahārāshtra, retarded the progress of learning On the other hand, the bitterness born of caste inequality rarely found a home here

Among the principal tribes which occupied Gujarāt, the Ābhīras deserve some attention Apabhramśa, which had been recognised as one of the literary languages of Gujarāt before the rise of the Valabhīs (A D 509), was based on their dialect Were the Ābhīras foreigners? Was their language alien? Patañjali (150B C ) employs the term Apabhramśa to signify the corruption of the nor-

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14 *Mbh* XIV 29 13-16

ततस्तु क्षत्रिया· केचिज्जामदग्न्यभयार्दिता.।
विविशुर्गिरिदुर्गाणि मृगा. सिंहार्दिता इव ॥ १३
तेषा स्वविहित कर्म तद्भयान्नानुतिष्ठितम्।
प्रजा वृषलतां प्राप्ता ब्राह्मणानामदर्शनात् ॥ १४
एव ते द्रविडाऽऽभीरा. पुण्ड्राश्च शबरै. सह।
वृषलत्व परिगता व्युत्थानात् क्षत्रधर्मिण ॥ १५

15 *Vishnu* P , IV 24 Wilson's Translation, ed by Fitzedward Hall, Vol IV p 222)

सौराष्ट्रावन्तिशूद्रानर्बुदविषयाँश्च व्रात्याद्विजाभीरशूद्राद्या भोक्ष्यन्ति।

mal Sanskrit,[16] Bharata (A D 200) refers to '*deśabhāshā*' and the '*Ābhīrokti*', the idiom of the Ābhīras, the herdsmen[17]

There is no doubt that the Ābhīras, a hated people, believed to have once lived on the Sindhu, were called Mlechchhas They fought in the battle of Kurukshetra They seemed to have driven the Yādavas out of Saurāshtra after Śrī Krishna's death[18] *Manu Smriti* treats them as descended from the Brāhmanas of Ambashtha women[19] Whatever might have been their early status, prior to A D 100 the Ābhīras lived in Gujarāt without any brand of social inferiority Periplus (c A D 70) found them already settled in Western India (Abiria) Ābhīra Rudrabhūti (A D 181) was a general of Western Kshatrapas[20] Īśvarasena, son of Śivadatta, ruled a principality near Nāsik (A D 300) Ābhīras lived in Rājasthān and Mālwā on the western frontier of the Gupta empire in Samudra-gupta's time (A D 360) An Ābhīra dynasty succeeded the Āndhrabhrityas, according to the *Vishnu Purāna*[21] All these facts indicate that the Ābhīras occupied an important position in society in Rājputāna, Gujarāt and even further south, before A D 500 Neither their names nor their language appear to be

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16 *Vyākarana Mahābhāshya of Patañjali* (Edited by F Kielhorn Vol I, Bombay 1882), P 2

एकैकस्य हि शब्दस्य बहवोऽपभ्रंशा । तद्यथा।

गौरित्यस्य शब्दस्य गावी गोणी गोता गोपोतलिकेत्येवमादयोऽपभ्रंशा ॥

17 *Nātyasāstra of Bharata*, XVII 24 55

एवमेतत्तु विज्ञेय प्राकृत सस्कृत तथा।

अत ऊर्ध्वं प्रवक्ष्यामि देशभाषाप्रकल्पनम् ॥ २४

गवाश्वाजाविकौष्ट्रादि घोषस्थाननिवासिनाम् ।

आभीरोक्ति शाबरी वा द्राविडी द्रविडादिषु ॥ ५५

18 cf *Mbh* XVI 7 46-63, 8 16-17

19 *Manusmriti* X 15

ब्राह्मणादुग्रकन्यायामावृतो नाम जायते।

आभीरोम्बष्ठकन्यायामायोगव्या तु धिग्वणः ॥

20 cf *EI* XVI p 235

21 cf. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, pp 44-47, 72, *Vishnu* P, IV 24. 13-16.

foreign, and even if they were originally foreigners, they were for all purposes children of the soil before the Christian era began  Many scholars believe that the Ābhīras entered India about 150B C  and migrated to Gujarāt a couple of centuries later  According to Dr  Keith, they probably belonged to the Dardic branch of the Indian race [22]

## III

For a hundred years, Gujarāt formed part of the Gupta empire  The Gupta period was the golden age of Indian history  Samudra-gupta, Chandra-gupta II, the Vikramāditya of romance, Kumāra-gupta and Skanda-gupta were great, not only as conquerors and statesmen, but as patrons of all cultural activities  Their learning and character stimulated the growth and development of culture  Their strong and just administration, more than their conquests, brought about the political consolidation of India north of the Narmadā

In the Gupta period, the old Aryan myths, known all over the country, were edited and compiled in works which have since become classic  The *Mahābhārata* emerged almost in its present form  Purānas like the *Vāyu*, the *Harivamśa*, the *Matsya*, and the *Mārkandeya* were composed  The study of law and ritual, science and philosophy, ethics and religion received great impetus  The old literature on these subjects was revised, in some cases standardised  *Manu*, *Yājñavalkya*, and other law texts were either revised or composed  Astronomy, mathematics, and medicine were assiduously cultivated [23] Architecture, sculpture and painting reached a high level of artistic expression  Sanskrit, already the medium of intercourse for the cultured in the whole country, became the great unifying agency, the vehicle, the source and the inspiration of culture in its manifold aspects  Literary expression, too, reached its climax in the *kāvyas* (epics),

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22 *HSL* p 33
23 cf. *NHIP* VI Ch XX pp 401-422

and the *nātākas* (dramas) Kālidāsa, one of the world's supreme literary artists, lived, as is now accepted by many eminent authorities, at the court of Chandra-gupta II Vikramāditya His *Raghuvamśa, Meghadūta,* and *Śākuntala* were accepted in India as prototypes of literary art in its most perfect form The worship of Vishnu became the state religion, and the Brahmanical view of Aryan culture the dominant note in the nation's life During this period the seats of learning were lavishly endowed So far, faint memories of racial unity and the common heritage of culture were the two ties which bound North India together, to them was now added political unity Though there is very little contemporary evidence, subsequent history fully bears out that these influences deeply affected life and literature in Gujarāt, and it is more than probable that towards the composition of the *Harivamśa,* the *Matsya,* and the *Mārkandeya Purānas,* the people of Gujarāt made no small contribution

## IV

The Aryan speech all the world over and particularly in India, has shown great vitality throughout the ages In the course of its progress in this country, for instance, one series of phenomena attracts our attention on account of its periodic recurrence By borrowing the charm and importance of Sanskrit, a dialect attains literary status In consequence it is standardised and enriched, but the gulf between the spoken language or *deśabhāshā* and the literary form, *sāhitya-bhāshā,* widens This loss of living contact with the spoken form eventually arrests growth in the literary speech-form, while the *deśabhāshā,* no doubt considerably influenced by the literary speech, continues along its course of evolution When the literary form becomes archaic or unsuited for popular expression, the *deśabhāshā* in its turn receives literary polish with the aid of Sanskrit. Thus the Prakrits, the Apabhramśa and the present-day Indian languages in their

old and modern forms were originally *deśabhāshās,* which in succession to one another attained literary form

Even after the Sanskrit universities were destroyed by the inroads of the Turks and Khaljis in the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries, the *deśabhāshās* were cultivated with the aid of Sanskrit When the literary forms thus evolved became unsuited to meet the needs of the people in the nineteenth century because of the contact with the West, the *deśabhāshās* in all the provinces developed a new literary form as we see it today under the joint influence of English and Sanskrit

In view of the likely progressive elimination of English from the life of the country, the influence of Sanskrit may dominate in the evolution of modern Indian languages But the spread of compulsory primary education and the need of mass mobilisation, essential to national existence in a democratic country, may make the exchange between the spoken and the literary forms of every language in India brisk so as to prevent a break between the spoken and the literary language

Sir George Grierson advanced the theory that the Aryans entered India in two waves, one, which he calls that of the Aryans of the Outer Band, and the other, that of the Midland (Madhyadeśa) Aryans In course of time, the speech of the Midland Indo-Aryans became Sanskrit But from time to time it lent its structure and wealth of diction to the dialects of the Outer Band Under this influence, the Prakrits, Apabhramśa, and the modern Indo-Aryan languages in India came into existence[24] The basis of the languages thus evolved was Outland, but the body, Midland The grammar was that of the *deśabhāshā* but the enrichment was due to attempts made to absorb (*a*) the expressiveness and beauty of the archaic literary language, or (*b*) to use its vocabulary, or (*c*) to draw upon Sanskrit[25]

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24 Grierson, Indo-Aryan Languages, Sanskrit, Prakrit—*Encyclopædia Britannica*

25 Keith, *HSL* p 34

The language of the Aryans that immigrated to India belonged to that family of languages which is styled by the scholars as Indo-European. This speech soon began to reveal marked differences as dialects. But over and above the spoken dialects, there was one archaic and conventionalised speech-form that was employed by the priestly class among the Indo-Aryans for the cultivation of sacred poetry. This *'chhāndasa'* dialect,[26] preserved to us in the *Rigveda*, represents the literary form of the oldest Indo-Aryan language, i.e. the language of the Aryans in India.

On the other hand, the spoken Indo-Aryan dialects or *deśabhāshās* were fast yielding to the tendencies of linguistic change. Perhaps the Śāryātas and Bhrigus who first came to Gujarāt used one of these. Konkanī is perhaps descended from this dialect which was allied to, but preceded, Śaurasenī. It is likely that it was the dialect of the sea-faring Aryans—the Aparāntas, Bhrigukachchhas, and Konkanas on the West Coast who were connected with the Paraśurāma myth.[27]

The dialects thus developed began to assume importance. The dialect of the Northern Indo-Aryans, which was nearest to the Vedic speech, was also developed by them, much more vigorously on account of the efforts of Brāhmanas to invest it with special sanctity and became classical Sanskrit. Authors, sacred and profane, prior to the sixth century before Christ began to give it a literary form of beauty. Pānini and his predecessors gave it a scientific form. In this wise it became the standard for future generations.

In this period, far away from the Madhyadeśa, Indo-Aryan dialects current among the people had entered the Prakrit or Middle Indo-Aryan stage. Buddha (6th century B.C.) and Mahāvīra preached in an Eastern variety of this dialect. We are on firmer ground in the third cen-

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26 Chatterji, *Origin & Development of Bengali Language*, I, 29-31, 76-79

27 cf. Munshi, *Linguistic Provinces and the Future of Bombay*, pp. 26-28

tury before Christ Aśokan edicts, intended for popular instruction, are inscribed in three varieties, the eastern, the north-western and the western dialect The dialects and Pāli, the language of the Buddhist canon, represent the earliest phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan The Western variety is used in the inscription at Mount Girnār Some peculiar traits of this dialect appear to have been bequeathed to Gujarātī Pāli is also traced by some scholars to a western *deśabhāshā* current in the Ujjayinī area[28] If this is correct, Pāli must have considerably influenced the dialect of Gujarāt of the period

The forces of change operative within the spoken dialects worked up a further phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan known as the classical Prakrit stage Its chief varieties were Māhārāshtrī, Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Paiśāchī, so called after the region in which each of them was current The first three of these are found in Sanskrit dramas The Śaurasenī variety resembling Sanskrit and spoken in the Mathurā region was put in the mouth of ladies and the *vidūshaka,* the clown, by the rules of dramaturgy Bharata in his *Nātyaśāstra* mentions one Āvantī dialect which seems to be a variety of Śaurasenī probably current in Mālwā and Gujarāt of that period Besides, varieties of Prakrits known as Ardha-Māgadhī, the original language of the Jain Canon, and Jain Māhārāshtrī and Jain Śaurasenī, that is, the two commonly used Prakrits, mixed with Ardha-Māgadhī, were also used in Gujarāt The redaction in Jain Māhārāshtrī of the Jain canon at Valabhīpura in Saurāshtra by the conference presided over by Devardhigani (A D 500), indicates that this form of the language was favoured by the Jains at the time

There is no doubt that in this period the *deśabhāshā* in Gujarāt and Konkan was influenced not only by Māhārāshtrī but the then prevailing Kannaḍa An ancient Tamil tradition includes Gujarāt in the *Pañcha Draviḍa*

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28 cf Franke, *Pali and Sanskrit,* pp 127ff Kuhn, *Beitrage zur Pali Grammatik,* p 9

or the five Dravidian regions Possibly it dates back to the time when South Gujarāt or Lāta (which included North Konkan) had not yet been brought under the influence of North India In later times, during the Rāshtrakūta period, the influence of Kannaḍa was at the highest This would explain the traces of that language in Gujarātī[29]

These Prakrits, having been given a literary form, soon drifted away from the *deśabhāshā* and when its varieties spoken along the west coast were developed from a literary point of view, they came to be known as Apabhramśa, the corruption of the norm In course of time Apabhramśa was standardized but the *deśī* element in its base began to assert itself more and more regionally, and accordingly developed several local varieties One such literary variety was stated by Bhoja to be *Gaurjarī,* peculiar to the Gurjaras

The *deśabhāshās,* all over the provinces, however, continued to develop on phonetic lines, evolving what are known as the New Indo-Aryan languages including Gujarātī, which is first found in literature in the eleventh century Thus, age after age, the spoken language was intensively cultivated under the influence of Sanskrit as also of the literary language of the preceding age which had ceased to grow, achieving for itself a new stage in literary expression

To summarise the position of languages in Gujarāt during the period under review

(a) The earliest phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan languages was in vogue before 200 B C , and continued to be so for some centuries

(b) Sanskrit, soon thereafter, became the literary and official language In some parts of South Gujarāt, Kannaḍa also was in use

(c) Jaina Māhārāshṭrī Prakrit was used by the Jain *sādhus* in the fourth and fifth centuries A.D

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29 A Master, "Some Parallelisms in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian Languages", *JBBRAS,* 1930, p 95

(d) In Saurāshtra, Gaurjarī Apabhramśa, having at its basis a variety of Śaurasenī Prakrit, was used as a literary vehicle from about the same time

(e) Possibly the speech of North Gujarāt or Ānarta had also some distinctive literature

King Guhasena of Valabhī (559-569), according to an inscription, wrote poems in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa [30]

## V

From early times Jain *sādhus* were a cultural force in Gujarāt Nemināthа, the twenty-second Tīrthamkara, came from Saurāshtra The Śakunikā Vihāra of Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tīrthamkara, was at Broach The schools of Aryan learning in the North were deeply absorbed in solving questions of high philosophic and religious moment and in making an advance on the system of philosophy and ethics from which Mahāvīra had borrowed his negative creed Royal patronage was extended mainly to the Brāhmanas and the Buddha *bhikshus* The great imperial house of the Mauryas did not feel any attraction for Jainism The imperial Guptas, devout worshippers of Vishnu and ardent conquerors as they were, do not appear to have admired a creed which spelt destruction to their masterful policy

The Jain *sādhus,* celibates pledged for life to ceaseless travel and bent on the propagation of their faith, were, therefore, forced to explore more hospitable lands and went south and west They turned for patronage and protection to Gujarāt with its cosmopolitan spirit and its poverty of great intellectual and literary tradition Its rich middle class longed for some literary entertainment which, without putting an undue strain on its religious zeal, could give a sense of spiritual security Denied the patronage of a highly cultured or literary audience, the Jain *sādhus* specialised in a form of literature which was a

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30 *BG,* I p 90

संरकृतप्राकृतापभ्रंशभाषात्रयप्रतिबद्धप्रबन्धरचनानिपुणान्त·करणः . . . ।

means of religious propaganda as also a source of popular entertainment

To the Brāhmanas the literary and intellectual impulses of Mathurā, Kāśī and Nālandā were the breath of life Royal patronage had made them independent of popular support, and they naturally showed interest only in that kind of literature which accorded with the higher standard prevailing in Madhyadeśa They evinced no inclination to stoop to conquer the simple-minded or the idle rich of this distant colony

*Dharmakathā*—religious story—is the category under which many forms of literature to which the Jain *sādhus* devoted themselves fall The common element in all these *kathās* was an insistence on the gospel of renunciation by entering the order of Jain *sādhus* One of the sections of the Jain scriptures is called *Dharmakathānuyoga*

The Jains turned classical legends, legendary lives of saints, moral tales and anecdotes into *dharmakathās* in order to spread their doctrines At times, the epic legends were re-written to suit this propaganda, more often, a Puranic hero's life-story was re-told, making him a Jain These *kathās* based on legendary biography were called *charitas* *Vasudevacharita* was first composed by Bhadrabāhu, Jain teacher of Chandragupta Maurya (c 320 B C ), and *Paumachariya*, the Jain version of the *Rāmāyana*, and *Harivamśachariya* by Vimala in c A D 300

Miraculous stories were also utilised for writing *dharmakathās* Haribhadra (750) acknowledged his indebtedness to pre-existing *kathās* and, following ancient teachers, divided them into (i) *Divya*, (ii) *Divyamānusha* and (iii) *Mānusha*. He classified them into (i) *Arthakāma*, (ii) *Samkīrna* and (iii) *Dharmakathā* The general public, as was perfectly natural, took a fancy for the *kathās* in which love provided the central motive The Jain *sādhu* knew human weaknesses very well The author of *Vasudevahindi* insisted that *dharmakathās* should be properly diluted with good love stories in order to achieve the best results Udyotana laid down that a

story should be like a newly wedded wife, decked with ornaments, auspicious, moving with graceful steps, sentimental, soft in speech and ever pleasing to the minds of men [31]

The *dharmakathā*, with this object in view, was given a peculiar turn in Gujarāt The stories of kings did not appeal to the commercial classes Social *dharmakathā*, however, which dealt with the love-affairs of a daughter of a *nagara-śetha* or a merchant prince, acquisition of wealth as a substitute for heroism, and renunciation according to Jain tenets as the end of life, caught the popular imagination

## VI

Out of the several social *dharmakathās* referred to in Jain works, the fragments of *Tarangavatī* composed before 500 alone survive to give us an idea of what these *kathās* must have been like It was composed by Pādalipta He was born in Kosala and was a protégé of the Sātavāhana kings of the South He was the reputed founder of Pālitāna in Kāthiāwār, one of the places of Jain pilgrimage The *kathā*, written in Prakrit, contained many *deśī* words, and was mentioned in *Anuyogadvāra* (500) [32] Various authors from the eighth century onwards have extolled the story and compared it to the Gangā Śīlāchārya says that a story which lacks any trace of this *kathā* has neither art nor beauty Again, another unknown author is surprised that the god of death should escape with an unbroken head when he carried away the author of so beautiful a work The original work is lost but its merits can be judged from a summary in 1643 *gāthās* composed by a process of very careful editing by Nemichandra, and recently brought to light by Dr Ernest Leumann This short *kathā* entitled *Tarangalolā*, shows how later authors

31 cf Muni Jinavijaya's *Kuvalayamālā*, *BV*, II p 80 n7·

सालंकारा सुहया ललियपया मउयमंजुलुल्लावा।

सहियाण देइ हरिसं उव्वूढा नववहू चेव।

32 Winternitz, *HIL*, II, p 522

of such *kathās* inartistically developed some elements of Pādalipta's tale without preserving its charm It is pre-eminently a love story of middle class life, in the poetic style of the period, full of delicate touches and refined sentiments But for its depressing end, it is a thing of beauty

In Magadha, a young and beautiful Jain nun goes to the wife of a *nagara-śetha* for alms She preaches the usual religious precepts, and, on being asked, tells her life-story to justify her early renunciation Her original name was Tarangavatī She was a daughter of the *nagara-śetha* of Kauśāmbī Brought up in luxury, educated with care, she was as beautiful as the *champaka* flower Once she went to a garden and seeing *chakravāka* birds, the Indian symbol of undying love, on the lake, she swooned Her friends revived her, and asked her what had caused her to faint so suddenly

Tarangavatī then told them the story of her previous life She had been a *chakravākī*, and had lived with her mate on a lake in Angadeśa Their love had transcended all earthly bonds A hunter, trying to shoot an arrow at an elephant bathing in the lake, had missed his mark and killed her mate Bewailing the loss of her beloved, she had immolated herself on the fire lighted by the repentant hunter to cremate the bird On seeing the birds sporting on the lake, the past had flashed upon her

Once the past was recalled, Tarangavatī wanted to meet the lost comrade of her former life Not being able to find him, she found solace only in drawing pictures depicting the experiences of her former bird-life and exhibiting them The *chakravāka*, who was born as a son to a rich merchant in the same town, saw the pictures The past birth came back to his mind, and remembering his lost love, he fainted The lovers were soon brought together But their parents objected to the match Elopement was the only way open to them, and the lovers took it They sought refuge in a forest, but were attacked by a band of robbers who carried them away to be offered as sacrifice to the goddess Kālī

One of the robbers, however, heard the story of their past life and recognised them as the very birds whose death he had caused in his past life when hunting an elephant He, therefore, allowed them to escape From the robbers' camp, the two ran away to a town where their identity was discovered The parents received them with open arms, and twelve months of unalloyed happiness followed

The story woven so far with consummate art is in the end made to subserve a religious purpose Life cannot and must not be anything but an ordeal The lovers meet a *sādhu* who tells them the story of his past They recognise in him the hunter who had been the cause of their death in their former life, and the robber who had helped them to effect their escape Dire truisms on life's futility follow they leave love and happiness and mourning relatives behind them, and take to a life of renunciation as inculcated by Jain precepts Each goes a different way The story closes on a conventional note Everybody expresses horror at the sinful ways of the world and proclaims Jain religion as the sole refuge

The story has the elements of romance so dear to the Indian heart, the inseparable *chakravāka* birds and the ideal of undying love running through a succession of lives Both are depicted with a charm difficult to meet with in later social *kathās* The *chakravāka* episode, even in the form in which it has come down to us, is among the most beautiful in Indian literature

CHAPTER II

# GUJARĀT IN THE AGE OF IMPERIAL KĀNYAKUBJA (A D 550-950)

The Hūnas—Valabhīpura Kings (509-766)—The Chāvaḍās—Kingdom of Gurjaratiā (c 400-953)—The Gurjaras—Segregation of cultural forces—Sanskrit literature—Kāvyas—Nāṭakas and Champūs—Bhatti (c 641)—Māgha (c 700)—Jainism—Early Jain literature—Haribhadra (c 750)—*Samarāichchakahā*—*Dhūrtākhyāna* — Udyotana (779) — *Kuvalayamālā* — Siddharshi (c 906)—Rājasekhara—The influence of Sanskrit—Language and literature in the country

SUFFICIENT materials are now available to show that this age was not a dark one but as powerful, though not as brilliant, as the classical age of the Guptas

Emperor Skanda-gupta appears to have lost Gujarāt a few years after the date of his Girnār inscription (456) With the death of his descendant, Budhagupta, in c 500, the power and glory of the Gupta Empire vanished Whatever was left of it was split into two sectors, viz the Western, consisting of Mālwā and Avanti and the Eastern, comprising Magadha and North Bengal A considerable part of modern Gujarāt formed part of the Western section The Gupta emperors maintained a military governor in Ānartapura (Vadnagar) in North Gujarāt and at Bhrigukachchha (Broach), which then included parts of modern North Konkan

About 465 the Hūnas under Toramāna entered India, first established themselves at Pavaiya in the Punjab, and finally reached Ujjayinī (c 500) The then ruler of Mālwā, whose sway extended over central Gujarāt, was forced to retire to Bengal before the overwhelming might of the Hūna conqueror About 512 Mihirakula, the son of Toramāna, was the most powerful ruler in North-West India But in c 520 he was defeated by Yaśodharman Vishnuvardhana, and in 533 Mālwā was governed by

his military governor. In 550 Īśānavarman overthrew the descendants of Vishṇuvardhana, made Kanauj the imperial capital, and became the unchallenged master of North India A considerable part of the main land of Gujarāt was included in the kingdom of Śarvavarman, the son of Īśānavarman

## I

On the break-up of the Gupta Empire, Senāpati Bhattārka, a rebel general of the empire, declared independence and ruled over the kingdom consisting of Saurāshtra and a part of Ānarta from his capital Valabhīpura, modern Vala His descendants also acquired a part of the main land ot Gujarāt In about 550 Śankaragaṇa, the king of the Kalachuri dynasty, whose kingdom included the valley of the Mahi river and Lāta, drove out Sangrāmasimha, the last viceroy of the Guptas ruling at Bhrigukachchha, and appointed a Bhil king as a feudatory to rule over the valley of the Narmadā

About this time, a Brāhmaṇa by name Harichandra, who claimed to be a Pratīhāra, founded a small kingdom at Bhillamāla or modern Śrīmāla near Ābu, and ruled over the region round the mount and part of Mārwār which was then called 'Gurjara' or 'Gurjaradeśa' Harichandra and his descendants soon grew powerful, and in about 580 Dadda, perhaps the fourth son of Harichandra, invaded Lāta, defeated the Bhil feudatory and extended his rule to the Narmadā valley Thus the Gurjara kings of Śrīmāla conquered South Gujarāt and weakened the power of Valabhī as also of the Kalachuri kings of Mālwā The Gurjara kings appear to have extended their conquests even in the north, and about 600 fought Prabhākaravardhana, the king of Thāneswar and the father of emperor Śrī Harsha

About this time Dakshiṇāpatha or Deccan was also evolving a consolidated centre of power About 500 Pulakeśī of the Chālukya family captured Vātāpī, modern Bādāmi in the Bijāpur District of the State of Bombay,

and founded a kingdom His son invaded Mālwā in 601 In 606 Śrī Harsha, or to give him his full title Śri Harshavardhana, became the emperor of the Uttarāpatha Two years later, in 608, Pulakeśī II succeeded to the throne of Vātāpī and Konkan, Lāta, Gurjara and Mālwā became victims of the rivalry between the emperors of the North and the South The kings of Valabhīpura and the Gurjara kings of Broach retained some kind of independence, and Śrī Harsha gave his daughter in marriage to Dhruvabhata or Dhruvasena II, king of Valabhīpura Jayabhata and Dadda II, the Gurjara kings of Broach, were under the suzerainty of Pulakeśī II, the Chālukya emperor of the South

Luckily the picture of the seventh century Gujarāt has survived in the diary of an eyewitness, Hiuen Tsang the great Chinese pilgrim, who visited Gujarāt in 641 The traveller went from Nāsik to the region called Bhrigukachchha, the name by which evidently South Gujarāt was then known As in all international ports, so in Broach, the residents were found by this pious pilgrim mean, deceitful, ignorant, orthodox and heterodox North of the Broach district was Mālwā with its capital of the same name somewhere on the south bank of the river Mahi There were hundreds of Buddhist monasteries in the land, and of the Buddhist *bhikshus*, Bhadraruchi was the greatest The present Ahmedābād district was possibly called Atālī, which I am inclined to identify with Ashlāli, a village near Ahmedābād From there the pilgrim went to Khetaka, which may be either modern Kaira or Khedbrahmā near Idar, and thence to Valabhīpura It was then ruled by Dhruvabhata, the son-in-law of Śrī Harsha

Valabhīpura was a city of power, wealth and culture It had a large library of sacred books Sthiramati and Gunamati, two Buddhist monks, had composed their treatises in its university Their fame had reached even China, and in consequence they had been invited there The country was happy and prosperous, and its merchants carried on an extensive trade The population was dense, religious institutions flourished More than a hundred

merchants were worth over a lakh. Rare and valuable articles secured from distant places were amassed by rich men

Ānarta had its capital at Ānandapura, which was another important town From there the pilgrim proceeded to Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla, the capital of Gujjara It was a city of learning According to Puranic records it was ten to twenty miles in extent and had no less than 11,000 Śivalingas and 4,000 *mathas* where learning in all its branches was pursued [1] Bhillamāla evidently was a great centre of Aryan culture and learning in the 7th century

The whole of Gujarāt was well populated The large cities were Ujjayinī, Bhillamāla, Verāvala, Valabhī and Mālava, while Bhrigukachchha, Āśāpalli, Khetaka, Ānandapura were comparatively small They were all centres of learning The Sābarmati valley was also a populous locality In South Gujarāt, Jambusar, Akrūreśvara (modern Ankleshwar), Śrībhavana (modern Sarbhon) and Navasārikā (modern Navasāri) were towns of importance

South Gujarāt was ruled by the feudatories of Pulakesī II who had defeated the armies of Srī Harsha of Kanauj

## II

With the early kingdom of Gujjara or Gurjara are associated important questions relating to Indian history

A detailed examination of the earliest epigraphic and literary records yields certain notable facts.[2]

About 550 Gurjara was the name of modern Mārwār with Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla as capital. Its kings were called Gurjaras and Gurjareśvaras One dynasty claimed descent from Harichandra, a Brāhmana, another from Lakshmana, the brother of Śrī Rāmachandra [3] In 640, this

1 cf *HK*, II, intr pp XCI-XCIII
2 cf *GG*, III, pp 7-30
3 cf Jodhpur Inscription of Pratihāra Bāuka (*JRAS*, 1894, pp 4-9), st 5, Gwālior Prasasti Mihirabhoja (*Ep Ind*, XVIII, pp 107-114), st 3

विप्रः श्रीहरिचन्द्राख्य पत्नी भद्रा च क्षत्रिया ।
ताभ्यां तु ये सुता जाता प्रतिहाराश्च तान् विदु

region was called Gujjar and its king was known to be a Kshatriya When these Gurjara kings took Kānyakubja and founded an empire it was known to Arab travellers as Juzr or Gujjar[4] The extent of this empire included parts of the Punjab, Rājputāna, Central India and Gujarāt which were ruled by warrior clans which came out of Gurjara Parts of modern Jodhpur, Jaipur and the Ābu region, were known as Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt till 1050 The people migrating from this part of the country were also known as Gurjaras In 960 these Gurjaras occupied parts of Alwar The Gurjara herdsmen in Kāshmir and Hindukush use a language which is similar to Mevātī and closely allied to Mārwārī There is no evidence to prove that Gurjara Gauda Brāhmanas, the Śrīmāla Brāhmanas, the Porvāds and Osvāls who were once classed as Kshatriyas, were of foreign extraction

According to the theory accepted by some authorities, however, the Gurjaras were a foreign race which entered India c 400-500, they took kindly to Indian culture, founded the kingdom of Gurjaratrā, accepted the Hindu caste system, conquered Ānarta and Lāta in c 700, subdued the Valabhī kings in c 750, and abandoned Bhillamāla in c 953 to go and settle in Ānarta, and to make their chief Mūlarāja, king of Anahilavāḍa Pattana

The word Gurjara, no doubt, does not appear before c 500 The names of some of the early rulers are non-Sanskritic There was a Caucasus tribe called Khajars, the sound of which is similar to Gurjaras But the theory does not quite accord with the records Its Brāhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaiśyas are found fully absorbed in the

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*Continued from page 27*

तेषा वशे सुजन्मा क्रमनिहितपदे धाम्नि वज्रेषु घोर
रामः पौलस्त्यहिंस्र क्षतविहति समित्कर्म चक्रे पलाशैः ।
श्लाघ्यस्तस्यानुजोऽसौ मघवमुवमुषो मेघनादस्य सख्ये
सौमित्रिस्तीव्रदण्डः प्रतिहरणविधेर्य प्रतीहार आसीत् ॥ ३ ॥

4. *HIED*, I, pp 4, 13ff, 21ff, etc

fold of *Ārya Dharma* The tradition of the Gurjara rulers was a continuation of the tradition of the post-Gupta rulers like Śrī Harsha and the Bhaṭṭārakas of Valabhī The linguistic, literary and cultural traditions developed unbroken from 550 to 1199 when the third empire of Gurjaradeśa, that of the Chālukyas, was overwhelmed by 'Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī's armies

On the death of Śrī Harsha the imperial sceptre passed to his grandson, Dharasena IV of Valabhīpura But the Chālukyas were gathering strength in the South and the Gurjara power was gaining strength in the North

In 711 Muhammad-bin-Qāsim, the Arab general, captured Sindh, and in 725 Junayd, the general of Caliph Hashim (724-743), sent two armies to invade Gujarāt One proceeded to Navsāri and was destroyed by Pulakeśī Avanijanāśraya, the Chālukya feudatory of Navsāri The other raiding army proceeded north, defeated the rulers of Kachchha, Saurāshtra, Valabhīpura, Chitod and Gurjara, destroyed Bhillamāla, and laid Ujjain waste [5] But Nāgabhata I, a scion of the Pratīhāra family of Gurjaradeśa, drove back the Arab forces and founded a strong power He and his descendants were styled Gurjareśvaras or Gurjaras from Gurjara or Gurjaratrā (the Mārwār and Ābu region) over which they first ruled

About 750 the empire of the Chālukyas of the South including South Gujarāt and parts of Mālwā passed into the hands of the Rāshtrakūta conqueror, Dantidurga And for two hundred years South Gujarāt became a battlefield between the Imperial Rāshtrakūtas of the South and the Gurjaras of the North In c 780 Vatsarāja, the Pratīhāra king of Gurjaradeśa, conquered Ānarta and Saurāshtra and became the suzerain of most of the kingdoms of North India It was during his reign that Udyotana wrote his *Kuvalayamālā* at Jhālor and Jinasena

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5 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, Part I, p 109 n2

शरज्ञसीरमुरोद्धारिणि तरलतरतारतरवारिदारितोदितसैन्धवकच्छेल्लसौराष्ट्र-चावोटक मौर्य्यगुर्जरादिरा (ज्ये) नि शेषदाक्षिणात्यक्षितिपतिजि ..

wrote his *Harivamśa Purāna* at Wadhwān[6] A triangular contest for all-India supremacy began between Vatsarāja of Gurjaradeśa, Dharmapāla of Bengal and Rāshtrakūta Dhruva of Vātāpī North Gujarāt continued within the domains of Nāgabhata II (792-834), the son of Vatsarāja, who vanquished the Pāla kings of Bengal

In c 807-8 Govinda III, the Rāshtrakūta, overran the North, and lived for some months at Sarbhon, now in the Broach District But he died in 814, and Nāgabhata II captured Kanauj, transferred his capital there and became the emperor of the North Medapāta, Gurjaratrā, Sapādalaksha, Ānarta, the mainland up to the Mahi and Mālwā formed part of the empire which stretched from Multān to Bengal and the Himālayas to the Mahi[7] South of the Mahi ran the writ of the Rāshtrakūtas

About 835 Nāgabhata's son, Mihira Bhoja (c 835-888), referred to in Gujarātī tradition as Bhūyaḍa of Kalyānakataka (Kanauj), had to subdue Ānarta and Saurāshtra again He appointed military governors at Junāgadh and Wadhwān The Mahi divided the Gurjara empire of the North from the Rāshtrakūta empire of the South, South Gujarāt changing hands from time to time Mihira Bhoja, the Gurjareśvara, was one of the greatest emperors in history, and the Arabs, who dreaded him most, called

6 cf *Kuvalayamālā* (*Bhāratīya Vidyā*, II, pp 84-87), *st* 18, 20, 21, 24, 26, *IA*, XV, p 141

तुगमलध जिणभवणमणहर सावयाउल विसम ।
जाबालिपुरं अट्ठावय व अह अत्थि पुहईए ।। १८ ।।
तत्थट्ठिएण अह चोद्दसीए चेत्तस्स कण्हवक्खम्मि ।
णिम्मविआ बोहिकरी भव्वाण होउ सव्वाण ।। २० ।।
परभडभिउडिभंगो पणईयणरोहणीकलाचदो ।
सिरिवच्छरायणामो णरहत्थी पत्थिवो जइया ।। २१ ।।
चवकुलावयवेण आयरियउज्जोअणेण रइया मे ।
सिवसतिबोहिमोक्खाण साहिया होउ भवियाण ।। २४ ।।
सगकाले वोलीणे वरिसाण सएहि सत्तहि गएहीं ।
एकदिणेणूर्णेहि रइया अवरण्हवेलाए ।। २६ ।।

7 cf Munshi, *GG*, III, p. 62f

his empire Juzr or Gurjara He was succeeded by Mahendrapāla (888-910), and he, by his son Mahīpāla (c 912-948), the last Mahārājādhirājā of Āryāvarta

In 940 Krishna III, the Rāshtrakūta, invaded the North and in a swift campaign destroyed the empire of Gurjaradeśa It was a historic event Most of the feudatories became independent The military governors of Junāgadh and Wadhwān disappeared The Rāshtrakūtas occupied parts of Rājputāna so far ruled by a feudatory of Kanauj The mainland of Gujarāt and Mālwā were ruled by the Paramāra king, Sīyaka II, who was the feudatory of Krishna III Mūlarāja, the son of Rājī, perhaps the grandson of Mahīpāla or Mahendrapāla, was driven out from Gurjaratrā Fleeing south, he captured Anahilavāda Pattana and occupied Sārasvata Mandala, the valley of the Sarasvatī In 997, for the first time, we find Mūlarāja called the 'Lord of Gurjara', a mere title, for the name of Gujarāt appertained to a different region altogether

Under the imperial Gurjaras life in Gujarat reached a high level of art and learning under the inspiration of Kanauj The temple of Modhera (c 800), the temples of Khajurāho (c 900-1000), and the Vimalśā temples of Ābu (c 1030-1050) are the relics of the magnificent tradition of art which flourished in the hey-day of Gurjaradeśa Bhatti of Valabhīpura (c 641), Subandhu and Bāna (c 650), Bhavabhūti (c 700) and Vākpati (c 750) of Kanauj, Māgha (c 700) of Śrīmāla, Haribhadra (c 700) of Chitrakūṭa, Medhātithi and Devala the great law-givers, and Rājaśekhara (c 900) the poet laureate of Mahīpāla, the grandson of Mihira Bhoja, are the representatives of a great age of intellectual and cultural activity

The story of Jayaśekhara and Vanarāja Chāvdā and his descendants ruling from Anahilavāda Pattana between c 765 to 942 is but a vague relic of some minor dynasty of local chiefs and of the conflicts between them and Mihira Bhoja of Kanauj who survives in the tradition as the Bhūyada Kalyāṇakaṭaka

## III

The account narrated in the first edition of *Gujarāt and Its Literature* following earlier histories that the history of Gujarāt began with Mūlarāja's capture of Anahilavāda in 942,[8] is not reliable What is now Gujarāt, in fact, then participated in the larger life associated with the empire of Vatsarāja, Nāgabhata II, Mihira Bhoja, Mahendrapāla and Mahīpāla (c 780 to 940) It had then a virile tradition Its cavalry is once recorded as having driven out the Rāshtrakūta forces A Brāhmana from Vadnagar was the guardian of the important fortresses of Gwālior Medhātithi laid down a law of breadth and vigour A Brāhmana could marry a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya girl, and could adopt even a Kshatriya son [9] Śūdras could offer oblations to certain sacrificial fires and perform all *samskāras* except recital of Vedic *mantras* [10] Converts to Islam were brought back into the fold by nominal ceremonials [11] Āryāvarta was not confined to India Wherever an Ārya king established the Vedic religion it was Āryāvarta [12] In fact absorption of persons of other faiths into *Ārya Dharma* was a common feature in Sindh and Saurāshtra

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8 cf Forbes, *Rās Mālā* (New Ed , London, 1878), p 199, Forbes' *Rās Mālā* (Edited by H G Rawlinson, Oxford, 1924), I, p 248

9 Medhātithi on Manu, IX, 168

कुलानुरूपैर्गुणै· क्षत्रियादिरपि ब्राह्मणस्य दत्तको युज्यते।

10 Medhātithi on Manu, X, 127

अनुपनीतत्वात् श्रुतिविहितधर्माभावे स्मृतिविषये सामान्यविहितधर्मा यथोक्त-प्रकारास्ते नास्य प्रतिषिध्यन्ते। तथा च स्मृत्यन्तर पाकयज्ञै स्वय यजेत अनुज्ञातोऽस्य नमस्कारोऽमन्त्र इति।

11 Kane, *History of Dharmasāstra*, II, pp 299–301, *Devala-smriti*, st 1-10, 17-22, 30-1, 48, 54 ff etc

12 Medhātithi on Manu, II, 22, 23

आर्या वर्तन्ते तत्र पुन· पुनरुद्भवन्त्याक्रम्यापि न चिर तत्र म्लेच्छा स्थातारो भवन्ति। यदि कश्चित् क्षत्रियजातीयो राजा साध्वाचरणो म्लेच्छान्पराजयेच्चातुर्वर्ण्यं वासयेन्म्लेच्छांश्चार्यावर्त इव चाण्डालान्व्यवस्थापयेत्सोऽपि स्याद्यज्ञियः। यतो न भूमि स्वतो दुष्टा संसर्गाद्धि सा दुष्यति।

Of course, Kānyakubja was the political capital of North India, and more It was a scared place, the seat of the imperial Ikshvākus All directions were to be measured from it[13] The dress worn by the ladies of the capital was adorable "Women of other countries," says Rājaśekhara, "should study the ways in which the ladies of Kānyakubja dressed and bedecked themselves, braided their hair, and spoke their words"[14]

## IV

The period from c 550 to 950 was an organic one from the literary and cultural point of view Bhillamāla, Ujjayinī and Valabhī were centres of cultural and literary activity, but the literary tradition and influence were the same An account of the literary achievements of this period in Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa, therefore, would include not only those of the authors who came from Gujarāt but of all those who flourished in Gurjaradeśa

The period under review was one of the most fruitful in Sanskrit literature Epic and dramatic works were composed, grammar and rhetoric were studied, law and philosophy were developed And Sanskrit became the most powerful of the influences operating on the culture of the people It was not only the language of the court and

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13 *RKM*, p 94
'तत्रापि महोदय मूलमवधीकृत्य' इति यायावरीय.।

14 *Bālarāmāyana*, X, 90
यो मार्गः परिधानकर्मणि गिरा या सूक्तिमुद्राक्रमे
भङ्गिर्या कबरीचयेषु रचनं यद्भूषणालीषु च।
दृष्ट सुन्दरि कान्यकुब्जललनालोकैरिहान्यच्च य–
च्छिक्षन्ते सकलासु दिक्षु तरसा तत्कौतुकिन्य· स्त्रिय.।
X 86 इमे अन्तर्वेदीभूषण पञ्चाला.
यत्रार्थे न तथानुरज्यति कविर्ग्रामीणगीर्गुम्फने
शास्त्रीयासु च लौकिकेषु च यथा भव्यासु नव्योक्तिषु।
पञ्चालास्तव पश्चिमेन त इमे वामा गिरां भाजनाः
त्वद्दृष्टेरतिथीभवन्तु यमुना त्रिस्रोतस चान्तरा॥

of belles-lettres, but the medium of the highest thought and noblest aspirations It impressed its genius upon Gujarāt, and in spite of its fluid social and commercial life checked its development on alien lines

By the sixth century of the Christian era, Sanskrit literature was already several centuries old Kālidāsa, the greatest Sanskrit poet and one of the greatest of any age or clime, had lived but a century before, laying the foundation of a new art and a great tradition His influence continued to dominate the whole period under review though with declining purity

Generally speaking the Sanskrit literature of the period had an aristocratic and erudite character, it was written for the learned The poets were required to undergo an elaborate course of studies and master several branches of learning including grammar, rhetoric, poetics and lexicography The vast store of myths and legends treasured in the two great epics, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata,* supplied the themes, but the literary tradition tended to become esoteric Poetics was assiduously cultivated The theory and rules of dramaturgy were required to be rigidly followed (1) *Mahākāvya* (the artistic or court epic), (2) *Khanda-kāvya* (long descriptive poem), (3) *Gadya-kāvya* (the prose romance) and (4) *Rūpaka* (drama) were the prevalent literary *genres* as contrasted with the simpler folk-tale or didactic and gnomic literature of an earlier age But Kālidāsa remained the unchallenged master in *Mahākāvya, Khanda-kāvya* and *Rūpaka,* his works were the model which inspired most poetic efforts, however poor in quality The only other form was the prose romance, for which Dandin's *Daśakumāracharita* furnished the pattern

The *Mahākāvya,* which owed its rise to the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* had, under the influence of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa,* become a refined and polished epic, dominated by one sentiment, dealing with the adventures of a royal hero and his family But literary art spent itself in description rather than in narration Soon

Kālidāsa's model, compact in form, elegant in expression and classic in self-restraint, underwent a change for the worse  The poet, anxious to win the praises of the pedant, turned a grammarian or a verbal trickster, and made a great literary vehicle the mere medium of tiresome artifice

In tradition Kālidāsa is closely associated with Ujjayinī  The nine literary gems of legendary fame were also associated with the city  But within a hundred years of the master's death, the literary tradition had considerably deteriorated  Subandhu, placed about the end of the sixth century, reflected this new tradition  Several references in his works point to the conclusion that he lived in Mālwā  *Vāsavadattā*, his only surviving work, is the earliest prose romance in India  The style is highly ornate, the narrative is meagre, literary artifice 'with a pun in every syllable' abounds  Long-winded descriptions appear to have come into vogue as the most important part of literary creations, a feature which characterises the whole period  The author disregards both character and incident  The story, though romantic, loses its force and beauty in the endless verbal trappings which the author weaves round it

## V

The tradition of Subandhu was carried forward by Bāna (c 650) whose *Kādambarī* is rightly acknowledged to be the best prose romance in Sanskrit literature  This and his other work, *Harshacharita,* gave a new inspiration and technique to the literary art of the age

*Harshacharita* is a *kāvya* woven round the early life of Śrī Harsha  It gives a vivid and graphic picture of the time  Incidentally, with Hiuen Tsang, the poet shares the honour of having given to posterity the life and times of one of the greatest rulers of India  He thus describes how he set out on his journey to meet his patron

> He rose early in the morning  Having taken his bath he put on a clean white piece of cloth  With rosary in hand he recited Vedic

*mantras* which he was to recite on his journey He then worshipped the idol of Śiva, the god of gods He first bathed it in milk, then offered sweet-smelling flowers, incense and pigments with great devotion He also offered many other things and waved the lights before it with devotion The fire-god was also propitiated by sacrifice The offerings of ghee and sesamum made its flame go the right way According to his means he gave presents to Brāhmanas Having gone round the sacrificial cow which stood facing the east, he applied white powder to his body, put on white garlands, wore white clothes and put *siddhārtha* in the hair on his head The elders smelt him on the head by way of blessing Putting forward his right leg first he started from Prītikūta village followed by his relatives who had in their hands flowers and fruits They also chanted Vedic *mantras*[1]

*Kādambarī* was left incomplete by the author and finished by his son Bhūshana The work lacks proportion The narrative is literally stifled by descriptions No detail, however far-fetched, escapes the author The work displays little art in characterisation or in presentation of the story But it contains a series of vivid word-pictures of nature The author's eye never misses colour, nor his ear music of the softest kind He can be fanciful and even slightly humorous when he wants to His fancy is rich, his vocabulary unlimited. The prose, in spite of its elaborate and endless compounds, has an element of poetic rhythm unsurpassed in any other work The work created a profound impression on the literary movement of the period and lifted the tedious verbosity of the age into a living art

Bāna's patron, Śrī Harsha, was also an author Three of his plays, *Priyadarśikā*, *Ratnāvalī* and *Nāgānanda* have

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15 *Harshacharita* (NS Ed ), pp 56-7

अथान्यस्मिन्नहन्युत्थाय प्रातरेव स्नात्वा धृतधौतधवलदुकूलवासा गृहीताक्षमाल. प्रास्थानिकानि सूक्तानि मन्त्रपदानि बहुश· समावर्त्य देवदेवस्य विरूपाक्षस्य क्षीरस्नपनपुर·सरां सुरभिकुसुमधूपगन्धध्वजबलिविलेपनप्रदीपबहुला विधाय पूजां परमया भक्त्या प्रथमहुततरलिततत्वग्चिचटनचटुलमुखरशिखाशेखरं प्राज्याज्याहुतिप्रवर्धितदक्षिणार्चिष भगवन्तमाशुशुक्षणिं हुत्वा दत्वा द्युम्न यथाविद्यमानं द्विजेभ्य· प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य प्राङ्मुखीं नैचिकीं, शुक्लाङ्गराग. शुक्लमाल्य शुक्लवासा शिखासक्तसिद्धार्थकः ... आघ्रातः , शिरसि कुलवृद्धै. मौहूर्तिकमतेन कृतनक्षत्रदोहदः ... प्रणम्य कुलदेवताभ्य. कुसुमफलपाणिभिरप्रतिरथं जपद्भिर्निजद्विजैरनुगम्यमानः प्रथमचलितदक्षिणचरणः प्रीतिकूटान्निरगात् ।

come down to us The author borrowed his plots from Gunādhya's lost work His style is free from the artificial elaborateness associated with his age

Valabhīpura was the capital of Kāthiāwār at the time, famous for its riches, learning and piety During the reign of Śrīdharasena, possibly fourth of the name, flourished the poet Bhatti Evidently the city had its literary masters, of whom the poet appears to be the most prominent His only known work is *Bhattikāvya* or *Rāvanavadha* It was the original on which Hemachandra modelled *Dvyāśraya* It was composed with the two-fold purpose of illustrating the rules of Sanskrit grammar and rhetoric, and of providing literary entertainment In such a work naturally the poet is smothered by the grammarian Though tradition gives a great position to Bhatti, it is only because of his skill in achieving this dual purpose of dubious literary value

Māgha wrote his works under the literary influence of Bhatti and Bhāravi He was the son of Dattaka Sarvāśraya and the grandson of Suprabhadeva, who was the minister of king Varmalāta, whose inscription dated c 624 has been recovered[16] The Jain Prabandhas make him a resident of Bhillamāla or Śrīmāla His association with Bhoja is clearly legendary, for the great Mihira Bhoja lived in the middle of the 9th century and the Paramāra Bhoja in the 11th century The poet was rich and liberal and his wife Malhanadevī also shared the generous instincts of her husband

The merits ascribed to Māgha by later critics are clearly exaggerations[17] The theme of Śiśupāla's death borrowed from the Sabhā Parvan of the *Mahābhārata* was touched up by the author with remarkable skill and luxuriance of expression; but under the influence of Bhatti

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16 cf Keith, *HSL*, p 124, De, *HSL*, I, p 189

17 cf

उपमा कालिदासस्य भारवेरर्थगौरवम्।
दण्डिनः पदलालित्यं माघे सन्ति त्रयो गुणा.॥
तावद्भा भारवेर्भाति यावन्माघस्य नोदयः।
उदिते च पुनर्माघे भारवेर्भा रवेरिव॥

he succumbed to the time-honoured tradition of using a romantic poem to illustrate the rules of grammar Characterization and narrative, in consequence, came to be regarded by the author as subsidiary factors in the composition The poet however could not approach his master Bhāravi at his best

Bhavabhūti alone of the poets of the period rescued the drama from this decadent tradition He, otherwise called Śrīkantha, was the son of Nīlakantha, and belonged to the learned family of Brāhmanas of Padmapura, stated to be in Vidarbha, modern Berār [18] His *Mālatīmādhava* was enacted on the occasion of the fair of Lord Kālapriya which is identified with Mahākāleśvara of Ujjayinī He is placed later than Kālidāsa and Bāna If the *Rājatarangiṇī* contains reliable information, Bhavabhūti and Vākpati, the author of *Gaudavaho*, were under the patronage of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja [19]

## VI

The Jain *sādhus* were very active during the five centuries under review, but the record of their activities has to be examined with caution

The later Jain *sādhu* has preserved this record Whatever he wrote, his disciples studied, and the libraries of Jain temples in Gujarāt and Rājaputāna preserved When orthodoxy surrenders its treasures to the printing press, the history of Jainism, of Prakrit, Apabhramśa and Gujarāt will have to be written anew But works, published so far, have made a considerable contribution to the history and literature of the period They are of great linguistic and sociological value, but, except for the biographical details of the writer and his teachers, and the record of reigns, they contain unreliable historical material It is disconnected, one-sided, and, in some cases, distorted by

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18 cf De, *op cit*, p 278

19 *Rājatarangiṇī*, IV, 144,

कविर्वाक्पतिराजश्रीभवभूत्यादि सेवितः।
जितो ययौ यशोवर्मा तद्गुणस्तुतिवन्दिताम्॥

religious bias, it is drawn very often from popular Jain traditions, sometimes it conflicts with the facts authenticated by contemporary records, and provides a wrong historical perspective But such as it is, it is sufficient to provide a correct estimate of the literary activities pursued by the Jains

About 500 Brahmanism and Buddhism dominated Saurāshtra and Gujarāt, but Valabhīpura was hospitable enough to welcome the conference of *sādhus* which redacted the Jain canon, thereafter called the *Valabhī Vāchanā*

Jainism, like Buddhism, was an offshoot of Aryan thought and religious impulse Neither Mahāvīra, nor his disciples, ever claimed to teach any but an Aryan doctrine Rebirth, the supremacy of the five great vows, the efficacy of detachment, *vairāgya,* and the goal of final emancipation, *kaivalya,* which they taught were common to other Indian religious movements Though Jainism did not attract a large Brahmanical following, its *sādhus* were often drawn from that class About the first century of the Christian era, some of its missionaries were learned Brāhmanas, whose ambition was to see that their tenets acquired a place of honour among the learned in the land

Vimala's *Paumachariyam,* written in Jain Māhārāshtri Prakrit, was one of a large number of attempts to alter *Rāmāyana* to suit the needs of the Jains Works like *Nandīsūtra,* composed about the time of the Valabhī redaction, show that the religious and literary activities of Jain *sādhus* were influenced by the *Vedas, Mahābhārata, Rāmāyana,* the *Purānas,* the well-known systems of philosophy, the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya and the *Kāmasūtra*

The revolt in favour of using Sanskrit as against Prakrit, headed by Siddhasena Divākara (c 533), was an attempt to raise the literature and thought of the Jains to the high intellectual level attained by those of the Brāhmanas A Brāhmana by birth, Siddhasena, wrote a well-known text book of logic, and was, on the testimony of Hemachandra, a poet This revolt naturally met with

considerable opposition from the orthodox *sādhus*, who, moving among the literate, were not alive to the great intellectual upheaval which was bringing about a deeper cultural unity in the country through Sanskrit

Siddhasena Divākara, whose principal literary activities were confined to Gujarāt, was the author of several *prakaranas*, that is, treatises in which the subject is dealt with in a systematic and scientific form This treatment, as distinguished from the diffused or episodical treatment of events favoured by the canonical works, was introduced by the Brāhmana converts to Jainism

The work of Siddhasena was carried forward by Haribhadra, a Brāhmana of Chitod and son of the royal *purohita*, who occupies a foremost position in the literature of the 8th century

Haribhadra wrote many *prakaranas* both in Sanskrit and Prakrit He wrote a commentary on the *Nyāyapraveśa* of the Buddhist logician, Dignāga Traditionally he wrote 1,400 *prakaranas* and commentaries on many Jain canonical works His principal contribution as a scholar was to bring the thought of the Śvetāmbara Jain to the high intellectual level of the Hindu and the Buddhist Out of the many *dharmakathās* that he wrote such as *Kathākosha, Yaśadharachrita, Vīrāngadā-kahā,* only *Samarāichcha-kahā* and *Dhūrtākhyāna,* both composed in Māhārāshtrī Prakrit, though with Śaurasenī influence, have come down to us

In spite of his background and training as a Brāhmana, Haribhadra was attracted to Jainism and was converted by the nun Yākinī He spent the best part of his life in Gujarāt and the adjoining parts of Rājputāna But it is clear from his works that he had travelled all over India and come into close contact with the exponents of Buddhist philosophy as taught by Dignāga and Dharmakīrti in Eastern India His life was inspired by a strong hatred of the Buddhists as also by an ambition to challenge their intellectual eminence Several anecdotes about his life are found in later works But the only indisputable

fact which emerges from them is that his nephews and disciples Hamsa and Paramahamsa perished in an attempt to master the doctrines of the Buddhists by stealth He used the word 'viraha' (bereavement) in the last verse in many of his works, it is stated, to keep alive the memory of this loss He was also a great proselytiser, attracting to Jainism several learned scholars from other faiths by his personality and learning He is stated to have got erected eighty-four temples and converted the Prāgvāta (Porvāda) Kshatriyas of Śrīmāla to Jainism Proud and fierce, he travelled far and wide, supplanting Buddhist influence already on the wane

Haribhadra, though a man of immense learning and the leader of a movement, was a literary artist in an age when literature could rarely escape from being pedantic or sanctimonious *Samarāichchakahā (Samarādityakathā)* and *Dhūrtākhyāna*, composed in Māhārāshtrī Prakrit, justify his reputation so uniformly emphasized by successive generations of Jain authors *Samarāichchakahā* is written in a racy, simple, fluent prose interspersed mostly with verses in the Āryā metre, a welcome departure from the highly ornate style which masters, like Bāna and Daṇḍin, affected It is calculated to capture the imagination of lovers of romance rather than attract the admiration of the learned The story is full of adventures of certain individuals through a succession of births as men, birds and beasts No doubt the religious motive is kept alive by the retribution which overtakes the heroes, who represent the cardinal sins, anger, deceit, avarice and untruth The propagandist also achieves his aim by repeatedly bringing home to the reader the futility of life and the potency of Jainism as the only escape from it

The story, in brief, is that Gunasena, a prince, when a child, held up to ridicule Agniśarman, the ugly and mis-shapen son of the royal priest Tired of being the butt of ridicule, Agniśarman became a *sādhu* After the lapse of some years, Gunasena, who had come to the

throne by then, went to meet his old victim, who had, in the meanwhile, become a great ascetic The king invited the ascetic to dinner But under a strict religious vow, the ascetic took food only on one fixed day in a month, and therefore promised to come to the king's palace on the day he broke his fast On the appointed day, the ascetic came to the palace The king's men, however, were celebrating the birth of a prince and would not attend to him Thereupon he went away, and was compelled to continue his fast for another month The king, when he came to know how he had been treated, in all humility, sought him out and begged his forgiveness Another invitation followed The ascetic again came to the palace, only to be turned out a second time for some insignificant reason Three times the sage received the penitent king's invitation, but on each occasion, was turned out without food or attention Worked up to a fury, Agniśarman vowed to wreak eternal vengeance on the king through successive lives, and giving up all food, died He observed his vow and at every rebirth persecuted Gunasena As a result of a series of adventures, Agniśarman was consumed by his own malice Gunasena, on the other hand, acquiring higher merit at each birth, attained salvation

The story is well told, and represents a stage of social *dharmakathā* different from *Tarangalolā* The author himself calls it *dharmakathā* Unlike the older work, its religious motives are woven into the main story Literary effort is less apparent The emotion of love, intense, fresh and natural, which dominates *Tarangalolā* becomes subordinate to a spirit of adventure and religious zeal In *Tarangalolā, karma* and remembrance of previous life and its consequences serve to motivate the story, in *Samarāichcha,* the story only serves to illustrate those ideas and impress certain moral principles upon the audience In the former, the characters are human and vital, taken from life, in the latter, they verge on the allegorical

## VII

*Dhūrtākhyāna* (the story of cheats) contains 480 stanzas divided into 5 *ākhyānas* It is written in a simple and fluent style suited to the conversational manner in which the cheats carried on their discussions

Five leaders of cheats, each with his followers, meet in Ujjayinī during the rainy season Mūladeva, one of the leaders, requests every one to tell the gathering truthfully of his experience It is agreed that whoever shows the experience to be incredible has to feed the others, but whoever confirms it by scriptural precedents is to be made their chief Mūladeva then tells his story

I went to the abode of God Śiva to receive the Gangā on my head, with a gourd and an umbrella in my hand While passing through a forest an elephant rushed at me, so I leapt into the gourd The elephant followed me into it where we played hide and seek for six months Ultimately I escaped through the spout-hole of the gourd The elephant tried to follow me but the hair of its tail was caught in the spout-hole I, however, approached the river Gangā, crossed her and reached the abode of the god I then received the Gangā on my head for six months If what I tell you is true, confirm it by scriptural testimony If you say it is a lie, give me a feast

Kandarīka, another chief of the cheats, in confirmation of Mūladeva's story, cites eight incidents from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas,* relating to the imprisonment of Gangā in Śiva's matted hair, birth of Karna from Kuntī's ear, crossing of the ocean by Hanuman with his army, etc

Then Kandarīka told his story

I was a naughty boy and my parents drove me out of the house I then attended a fair in honour of a Yaksha Robbers attacked it All of us men, women, children and horses went and hid in a cucumber, and continued our merry-making

A goat swallowed the cucumber A boa swallowed the goat A crane ate the boa and sat on a *vata* tree A king who had camped under the tree, thinking it to be its branch, tied a mad elephant to the crane's leg When the crane drew up its leg, the elephant was lifted up with it The mahout brought the archers who shot down the crane Under the king's orders the crane's stomach was opened Every one of us, thereupon, came out and went to our homes

I myself had this experience If you don't believe it, give us the feast

Elāshādha, another chief, confirmed that according to the *Mahābhārata* and the *Purānas* the experience was true, for they referred to the Primeval Egg in which all were accommodated Mārkandeya also saw a boy at the time of the universal deluge and lived in his stomach for a thousand years The cheat cited several Puranic stories in corroboration and stated that if they were true, Kandarīka's experience was equally true

Elāshāḍha then told his story

Being fond of alchemy I brought the liquid from the golden pond, by which metal could be transmuted into gold. Then I became rich The robbers came and attacked my house I fought single-handed against them They, however, cut my head off and placed it on a *badara* tree, and left with my wealth Men came there in the morning and saw my head eating the *badara* fruits They were convinced that I was alive and joined the head to my body And here I am hale and hearty But if you disbelieve me, give us the feast

Śaśa, another chief, confirmed the truth of this reference by citing the Puranic example of Jamadagni reviving Renukā after her head was cut off by Paraśurāma, of Tilottamā, Hanuman, and Mahāsena who were created or brought to life by joining different limbs

Then Śaśa tells his story

I once went to my field An elephant rushed at me Out of fear, I climbed a sesamum tree The elephant

ran round it, and the sesamum seeds fell on the ground The seeds were trodden upon by the elephant and so there was flood of sesamum oil The elephant got stuck in the mud made by the flood, and died of hunger and thirst I came down the tree, drank ten pots of oil, and ate the seeds I then made a bag of the elephant's hide, filled it with oil, and brought it with me I left the bag on a tree, and when I went home asked my son to bring it He went to the tree, but as he could not find the bag, brought the tree with him Believe me or give us a feast

Khandapānā, a woman chief, corroborated the experience by giving similar stories from the *Purānas* of the ichor of elephants in Bharata's army drowning armies, of Kumbhakarna drinking hundreds of pots of water and of Agastya drinking the ocean, of Garuda carrying the banyan tree and of Mādhava lifting the Govardhana

Khandapānā then told the cheats to make her their chief and prepare the feast for this was her story

Once I was very beautiful Then I slept on the veran dah The wind dallied with me Immediately I had a son, who took leave of me and went away.

Mūladeva corroborated her by the instances of Bhīma, born of wind, of Hanuman from Nīlā, of Vyāsa, who walked away as soon as he was born

Khandapānā resumed Once I attracted the burning sun and had intercourse with him A mighty son was born to me, but I remained unhurt On the third occasion I attracted Agni, by whom I got a brilliant son; but I was not burnt in the least Once again Indra came to me, preferring me to celestial nymphs, and a son was born to me

I am an artisan's daughter and several washermen also worked under me One day the clothes left to dry were blown off by strong wind I asked the washermen to run away For fear of the king's wrath, I became a lizard and entered the city But in the morning I thought I would be caught for the king's dinner and so turned myself into a mango plant When the washermen were forgiven I restored myself as a woman In the meantime, the leather straps of my carts had been eaten up by jackals

and dogs, and my father had to make others of a mouse's tail

I then went from place to place in search of the clothes and my servants Then I came here only to find that you were my servants and that what you wear were my clothes Now believe me, or if you can't, give us a feast

Being outwitted by Khandapānā, all the cheats felt ashamed They, therefore, accepted her as their chief and requested her to feast them all Khandapānā thereupon taking a dead child from the funeral ground with her went abegging to a rich banker's His servants were asked to drive her away When force was used against her she fell down to the ground and cried out that her son had been killed The banker, to escape punishment, bribed her with a ring She removed the dead child, sold the gift, and feasted the cheats

The cheats congratulated her on her resourcefulness and confessed that a woman was wiser than a man

In sharp contrast to the literary tradition of his age Haribhadra refused to convert a good story into an allegory or end it up by making everyone a Jain *sādhu* Khandapānā, the witty, hypocritical cheat, making her colleagues look ridiculous, has a character of her own Her skill in professional beggary has not been improved upon in the last fifteen hundred years

These stories are clever and remind one of Baron Munchausen's extravagant exploits But there is a devastating satire in every word of it Satire in Indian literature is very crude and often mixed But Haribhadra's satire had a vein similar to Swift's or Voltaire's His was the rationalistic approach "I am not partial to Mahāvīra, nor do I bear any ill will against Kapila and others I uphold the message of those whose words appeal to reason" In *Sambodha Prakarana* he holds up even the ways of Jain *sādhus* to equally devastating satire

The specimens of *dharmakathā* furnished by Haribhadra suggest that a large body of fictional literature composed in Western India at that time has been lost

## VIII

A little later (779) Udyotana, one of the disciples of Haribhadra, composed, mainly in Prakrit and partly in Apabhramśa, a *Champū* styled *Kuvalayamālā* in Jābālīpura (Jhālor) It contains valuable historical material, and, among other things, shows that in Gurjaradeśa around Bhillamāla, Jainism had acquired great influence and the Jain *sādhus* were active in pursuit of literature It contains valuable linguistic material, and refers to earlier masters of literature like Pādalipta, Shatparnaka, Gunādhya, Vyāsa, Vālmīki, Bāna, Ravishena, Jadila, Devagupta, Prabhañjana and Haribhadra A Sanskrit version of this romance was made by Ratnaprabha (c 1400)

Udyotana's *dharmakathā* is still in manuscript "This story", says the author modestly, "composed without pride of poetic skill, has no literary merit It has been composed with the object of only telling a *dharmakathā* Let no one therefore find fault with it" [20] It is woven round the old theme of retribution overtaking certain individuals embodying the cardinal sins through a succession of lives But we miss Haribhadra's raciness of style and freshness of presentation Literary effort is transparent The characters are more allegorical, the adventures are less exciting, the outlook on life is more pedantic We feel narrow influences becoming predominant The style of Bāna, not his creative art, is the principal inspiration

Jain *dharmakathā* was losing, or had lost, touch with real life Siddharshi (906) wrote his *Upamitibhavaprapañchākathā*, a lengthy allegory on the world's worthlessness, in the form of a *dharmakathā* It includes dreary sermons, an encyclopaedia of knowledge, and a collection of stories, good, bad and indifferent It is a *reductio ad absurdum* of the didactic and allegorical story Siddharshi apologetically refers to the necessity of composing in Sanskrit "Sanskrit and Prakrit equally deserve importance, but men of little learning prefer Sanskrit If the remedy is at hand, why not please everybody?"

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20 cf Muni Jinavijayji in *Vasanta Rajata Mahotsava Smāraka Grantha*, pp 270-1

In Gurjaradeśa of this period several other works were written, among them Śīlāchārya's *Chaupanna Mahāpurusha Chariyam* in Prakrit, on which Hemachandra modelled his *Trishashti-Śalākā-purusha-charita,* *Bhuvanasundarīkathā* by Vijayasimha (919), *Kālakāchārya Kathānaka* by Maheśvarasūri, *Brihatkathā-kosha* by Harishena (931-2) written at Wadhwān in Gujarāt in which reference is made to Vināyakapāla, the Gurjara Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj, otherwise known as Mahīpāla, *Yaśastilaka-champū* by Somadeva (959). A few decades later, Jain poets, like Dhanapāla (973), the friend of king Muñja of Dhārā and the author of *Tilakamañjarī,* frankly accepted Sanskrit as the language of literature *par excellence*.

## IX

This age closed with Rājaśekhara who was the representative of its literary traditions and whose influence over the coming centuries was great. He appears to have risen to fame as a poet and scholar in the time of Emperor Mihira Bhoja. He was also the teacher of his son Mahendrapāla who ruled the Pratīhāra Empire from 888 to 910 and the poet laureate in the reign of his son, Mahīpāla. The poet had therefore the rare luck of being an eyewitness and chronicler of some of the historic events which changed the destiny of the country between 910 and 940.

The poet has left us many autobiographical details. He was born in the Yāyāvara family and was known to the following generations as Yāyāvara. His was a family of poets. His great-grandfather was well known for his poetic works and his verses were being plagiarised by other poets. Surānanda, a poet famous at the court of Chedi, Tarala and Kavi Rāja also belonged to the same family.[21]

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21 cf *Bālarāmāyana,* 1, 13

स मूर्तो यत्रासीद्गुणगण इवाकालजलदः
सुरानन्दः सोऽपि श्रवणपुटपेयेन वचसा।
न चान्ये गण्यन्ते तरलकविराजप्रभृतयो
महाभागस्तस्मिन्नयमजनि यायावरकुले॥

Rājaśekhara's father Durduka or Dunika was a prime minister and his mother's name was Śīlavatī Rājaśekhara was a Brāhmana, but had married into a Chāhamāna family, and his wife Avantisundarī was, therefore, a Kshatriya[22] She was a lady of great accomplishments, for the poet quotes her opinion thrice in the *Kāvya-mīmāmsā*[23] and the *Karpūramañjarī* was first acted at her desire He was also styled Kavirāja

The known works of Rājaśekhara are as follows —

(a) *Bālarāmāyana,* relating the story of Rāma from Sītā's marriage to the death of Rāvana and their return to Ayodhyā after Sītā's fire-ordeal

(b) *Bālabhārata,* sometimes called *Prachandapāndava,* staged at Mahodaya before Mahīpāla

(c) *Bhuvanakośa,* to which he alludes in the 17th chapter of the last work

(d) *Kāvyamīmāmsā*

(e) *Haravilāsa,* referred to by Hemachandra

(f) *Viddhaśālabhañjikā,* staged at the request of Yuvarājadeva of Chedi after the collapse of Kanauj in c 940 The occasion may have been his installation in the joint administration of the government

(g) *Karpūramañjarī,* produced at the request of his wife, Avantisundarī

*Bālarāmāyana* was staged at the court of Mahendrapāla at Kanauj The poet however has taken liberties with the original For instance, Rāvana from the beginning is represented as a rival of Rāma for the hand of Sītā and his love for Sītā is given more prominence than his ferocity

*Bālabhārata* was staged at Kanauj before a distinguished gathering which included the emperor himself after Mahīpāla completed his great campaign against

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22 cf *Karpūramañjarī,* 1, 11

चाहुआणकुलमोलिमालिआ राअसेहरकइन्दगेहिणी ।

भत्तुणो कइमवन्दिसुन्दरी सा पउञ्जयिदुमेअमिच्छइ ॥

23 *RKM,* pp 20, 46, 57

the Rāshtrakūta emperor Indra III, in about 916 Thus does the poet describe his patron·

"In the family of Raghu, there was born the glorious Mahīpāladeva who lowered the heads of the Muralas, who destroyed the Mekalas, who drove out the Kalingas, who conquered the Kulūtas in battle, who destroyed Kuntalas as if with an axe, who forcibly seized the royalty of the Ramathas"[24]

Only two acts of *Bālabhārata* have been recovered so far

*Viddhaśālabhañjika* is a *nātikā* in four acts King Chandavarman of Lāta has no sons He therefore tries to pass off his daughter Mrigānkavatī as a son In that guise she is sent to the queen of king Vidyādhara of Kerala The visit leads to a real marriage between the king and the princess *Karpūramañjarī* is a play in Prakrit in four acts, and describes the love affair of king Chandapāla with the princess of Kuntala

The poet possesses complete mastery over Sanskrit and Prakrit metres, but as a dramatist he is poor He draws inspiration from Kālidāsa, Bhavabhūti and Śrī Harsha, but never approaches any one of them either in expression, sentiment or beauty

His *Kāvyamīmāmsā* is a work of great value and gives glimpses of the life and literature of this period of India's history It was projected as an elaborate treatise on poetics in 18 lengthy sections each consisting of several chapters Only the first part has been so far recovered

The poet gives an exalted status to poetics or Kāvyaśāstra He deals with the origin of poetics and determines the position of poetics in relation to Vedic and post-Vedic literature and treats of the origin of Kāvyapurusha (poetry incarnate, Poetry-King) and his marriage with

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24 *Bālabhārata,* I, 7

नमितमुरलमौलिः पाकलो मेकलाना
रणकलितकलिङ्गः केलितट् केरलेन्दो ।
अजनि जितकुलूतः कुन्तलाना कुठारो
हठहृतरमठश्री. श्रीमहीपालदेव ॥

Sāhityavidyā, the literary art The origin of Kāvyapurusha is thus described —

"The goddess of learning was practising penance on the Himālayas with the desire of having a son Pleased with her penance, Brahmā gave her a son, afterwards the Kāvyapurusha It was from him that metrical speech first originated Word and meaning make up his body, the different languages his limbs Sentiment is his soul, and figures of speech are his ornaments Once upon a time, while Sarasvatī was going to the celestial assembly as a judge, the Kāvyapurusha persisted in following her In order to prevent him, Bhavānī created Sāhityavidyāvadhū as his bride and asked her to follow him The bride had to adopt various sorts of dress and dramatic devices to win him The Kāvyapurusha, at the end of the journey, was won over The pair were then married in Vatsagulma by the Gandharva marriage The different kinds of dress and dramatic modes adopted by Sāhityavidyāvadhū in different countries are imitated by the people of those parts"[25]

In the work the poet deals with the rules to be observed by poets and gives the following directions

A poet should not read his composition to others in its incomplete form, he should not be vain if his composition is good, before publishing it he should seek the opinion of his betters, he should avoid quarrelling with impostors, he should prepare several transcripts of his works[26] Rājaśekhara ends the work by treating of the various ways which are injurious to the reputation of a poet

According to Rājaśekhara a poet should always be equipped with a box, a board with a chalk to write thereon, leaves of the *tāla* or the bark of the *bhūrja* tree for preparing books, as also pen and inkpot He should also have the leaves of the *tāla* tree with iron nails[27] Evidently books were being written at the time in the southern style by incising the leaves of the *tāla* tree, and in the

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25 *RKM*, *Intr*, p XXXVI, pp 5-10

26 *op cit*, p 52f नार्द्धकृत पठेत् । न च स्वकृति बहु मन्येत। ... . न च दृप्येत्। परैश्च परीक्षयेत्। . सिद्ध च प्रबन्धमनेकादर्शगत कुर्यात्।

27 *op cit* p 50 तस्य सम्पुटिका सफलकखटिका, समुद्रक., सलेखनीकमषी– भाजनानि ताडिपत्राणि भूर्जत्वचो वा, सलोहकण्टकानि तालदलानि, सुसम्मृष्टा भित्तय, सततसन्निहिता स्यु ।

northern by writing with ink on the bark of the *bhūrja* tree

A *kavirāja* was expected to be proficient in various languages and not merely Sanskrit A good poet, says Rājaśekhara, should pay attention to all the languages according to his ability, taste and curiosity,[28] for there is a distinctive beauty in each

A large number of books from which Rājaśekhara has taken quotations have remained unrecovered so far Rājaśekhara was a much travelled poet,[29] and has some very interesting remarks to make about the manner of speech of the people The Magadhas and those living to the east of Banaras spoke Sanskrit well but Prakrit badly[30] A Gauḍa could not speak Prakrit properly, he should, therefore, either give up the attempt or improve his Prakrit[31] The Karnātakas recited poetry proudly with a twang at the end of each sentence irrespective of sentiment, style or quality[32] The Dravidas recited prose

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28 *op cit*, p 48 सस्कृतवत्सर्वास्वपि भाषासु यथासामर्थ्यं यथारुचि यथाकौतुक चावहित स्यात् ।

29 *RKM*, p 51

गौडाद्या सस्कृतस्था. परिचितरुचय. प्राकृते लाटदेश्या
सापभ्रशप्रयोगा सकलमरुभुवष्टक्कभादानकाश्च ।
आवन्त्या. पारियात्रा· सह दशपुरजैर्भूतभाषा भजन्ते
यो मध्ये मध्यदेश निवसति स कवि सर्वभाषानिषण्ण ॥

30 *op cit*, p 33

पठन्ति सस्कृत सुष्ठु कुण्ठा प्राकृतवाचि ते ।
वाणार(राण)सीतः पूर्वेण ये केचिन्मगधादय. ॥

31 *op cit*, pp 33-4

गौडस्त्यजतु वा गाथामन्या वाऽस्तु सरस्वती ॥
नातिस्पष्टो न चाश्लिष्टो न रूक्षो नातिकोमल ।
न मन्द्रो नातितारश्च पाठी (ठो) गौडेषु वाडव ॥

32 *op cit*, p 34

रसः कोऽप्यस्तु काप्यस्तु रीति. कोऽप्यस्तु वा गुण. ।
सगर्वं सर्वकर्णाटष्टिकारोत्तरपाठिनः ॥

and poetry both in a musical way[33] The Lātas hated Sanskrit but spoke elegant Prakrit in a beautiful way[34] The people of Saurāshtra and Travana spoke Sanskrit but mixed it with Apabhramśa to add beauty to their speech[35] Kashmirians were good poets but their recital sounded like a mouthful of guḍūchī[36] The poets of the North were cultured and recited with a nasal twang[37] But the Pañchāla poets were the best, their voice corresponded to their style, the arrangement of their words was perfect, their compositions were scientific[38] The Pāñchālas are described as the ornaments of Āryāvarta, the most cultured region The two foci of the land were Kanauj and Banaras Its people liked elegant and new literary works The compositions of its poets were very well constructed[39] Their recitation was sweet as

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33 *op cit*, p 34
गद्ये पद्येऽथवा मिश्रे काव्ये काव्यमना अपि।
गेयगर्भे स्थित. पाठे सर्वोऽपि द्रविड· कवि.॥

34 *op cit*, p 34
पठन्ति लटभ लाटाः प्राकृत सस्कृतद्विष·।
जिह्वया ललितोल्लापलब्धसौन्दर्यमुद्रया॥

35 *op cit*, p 34
सुराष्ट्रत्रवणाद्या ये पठन्त्यर्पितसौष्ठवम्।
अपभ्रंशावदंशानि ते संस्कृतवचांस्यपि॥

36 *Ibid*
शारदाया. प्रसादेन काश्मीर· सुकविर्जनः।
कर्णे गुडूचीगण्डूषस्तेषा पाठक्रम किमु!॥

37 *Ibid*
तत. पुरस्तात्कवयो ये भवन्त्युत्तरापथे।
ते महत्यपि सस्कारे सानुनासिकपाठिन.॥

38 *Ibid*
मार्गानुगेन निनदेन निधिर्गुणाना
सम्पूर्णवर्णरचनो यतिभिर्विभक्त.।
पाञ्चालमण्डलभुवा सुभग. कवीना
श्रोत्रे मधुः क्षरति किञ्चन काव्यपाठः॥

39 *Bālarāmāyana*, Act X अयमसावितो विश्वम्भराशिर.शेखर इव लाटः।
यद्योनिः किल सस्कृतस्य सुदृशा जिह्वासु यन्मोदते
यत्र श्रोत्रपथावतारिणि कटुर्भाषाक्षराणा रसः।

honey As the poet testıfies, Mahodaya or Kanauȷ was the lıterary metropolıs of Indıa, the centre from where radıated power, fashıon and culture

Rāȷaśekhara had a partıalıty for Lātadeśa Karpūra-mañȷarī, the heroıne of the play, ıs the daughter of the kıng of Lātadeśa *Vıddhaśālabhañȷıkā* also refers to the kıng of the same country In the *Bālarāmāyana* (Act X, 48-49) ıt ıs descrıbed as the crest of the earth The elegance of speech and beauty of ıts ladıes are dılated upon by hım ın hıs Kāvyas

Poets of Lāta appear to possess dıstınctıve lıterary traıts A kınd of style, favoured by the authors of Lāta, had acquıred the name of Lātī[40] Rāȷaśekhara represents the people of Lāta as preferrıng Prakrıt and hatıng Sanskrıt Humour was then another peculıarıty of Lātī[41]

The poet's works also reflect the hıgh state of educatıon ın the country ın hıs tıme Women dıd not lag

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*Contınued from page 53*

गद्य चूर्णपदं पद रतिपतेस्तत्प्राकृत यद्वच–
स्ताल्लाटाल्ललिताङ्गि पश्य नुदती हृष्टेर्निमेषव्रतम् ॥४८॥
किञ्च–लक्षीकर्तुं प्रवृत्तोऽपि लाटीलडहवीक्षितैः।
लक्षीभवति कन्दर्प. स्वेषामेवात्र पत्रिणाम् ॥४९॥

40 cf Rudrata, *Kāvyālamkāra* (*KM*, 2) II 4-5

पाञ्चाली लाटीया गौडीया चेति नामतोऽभिहिता.।
लघुमध्यायतविरचनसमासभेदादिमास्तत्र ॥ ४॥
द्वित्रिपदा पाञ्चाली लाटीया पञ्च सप्त वायावत्।
शब्दा समासवन्तो भवति यथाशक्ति गौडीया ॥ ५ ॥

Rudrata (c 800-850) was the first to enumerate *Lātīyā Rītı* It ıs ındeed curıous that Rāȷasekhara, who came after Rudrata and was conveısant wıth hıs vıew, dıd not accept *Lātīyā Rītı* Probably he dıd not consıder ıt to be dıfferent from *Pāñchālī*, and hence dıd not see any necessıty of acknowledgıng a separate *Rītı* beyond *Pāñchālī* (cf *RKM*, pp 147 & 171)

41 cf Sımhadevaganı's commentary on the *Vāgbhatālamkāra* (*KM*, 48), p 68

लाटी हास्यरसे प्रयोगनिपुणै रीति प्रबन्धे कृता
पाञ्चाली करुणाभयानकरसे शान्ते रसे मागधी।
गौडी वीररसे च रौद्रजरसे वत्सोमदेशोद्भवा
बीभत्साद्भुतयोर्विदर्भविषया शृङ्गारभूते रसे ॥

behind men in point of education Evidently there were poetesses too in Kanauj "Culture is connected with the soul and not with the sex", says the poet[42] The poet had met princesses and poetesses, daughters of prime ministers, courtesans, and wives of court jesters who were well versed in sciences

The whole country, therefore, in this period had a unity of culture Apabhramśa, Prakrit and languages closely allied to Sanskrit were being understood by the people Sanskrit was the language of the cultured, spoken and understood among the educated throughout the country, but was most prevalent to the east of Banaras

## X

In 550 Īśānavarmā made Kanauj the capital Its Pratīhāra masters were styled Mahārājādhirājas of Āryāvarta Their power broke in 940 In 950 the Pratīhāra ruler of Kanauj was still recognised as the titular emperor of the world (*Raghukula-bhūchakravartin*) His descendant Rājyapāla was so accepted right till 1018 when Mahmūd of Ghaznī sacked Kanauj, and made a vassal of this last of the Gurjareśvaras Vidyādhara Chandella (1019-1022) rose against this imbecile relic of imperial greatness, and killed Rājyapāla, who was a puppet of the foreign conqueror Thus ended the glory of Kanauj

The rise of Kanauj represents a distinct phase in the history of India About 500, the Gupta empire broke into two as a result of the pressure of foreign inroads from the North-West, and India from Peshāwar to the Narmadā became a melting pot From out of this welter emerged the military power of Kanauj with its main function of resisting foreign inroads, and evolving order out of chaos It had another function too By 500 the Deccan asserted itself on the all India scene as a distinct military power, and a few decades later, came into conflict with

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42 *RKM*, p 53
सस्कारो ह्यात्मनि समवैति, न स्त्रैण पौरुषं वा विभागमपेक्षते ।

Kanauj which also saved the North from being occupied For all the time, the region of modern Gujarāt became the battle-ground of various powers, and, perhaps by that reason among others, tended to acquire for its people a character distinct from the warring regions of the North and South

As a result of this situation, life in the Rājasthān belt was thrown out of the traditional groove *Chāturvarnya* as an organisation had to bear the strain of absorbing the new comer The martial races became diluted with foreign elements, the Brāhmanas, who had been very largely endowed during Gupta times, and had been the guardians of religion, culture and literature, became a distinct caste of "gods on earth" (*bhūdeva*), interested mainly in maintaining the purity of their heritage This had its reaction in literature, as is proved by the testimony of Rājaśekhara

Sanskrit authors wrote for the learned only, not for all, their inspiration came from old masters like Vyāsa and Kālidāsa, not from life Naturally literature became learned in content, artificial in character, and traditional in outlook Living literature was found only in Prakrit and Apabhramśa, but much of it, which did not partake of a learned character, disappeared Rare specimens like *Dhūrtākhyāna* survived because they happened to be composed by learned men who could not otherwise be ignored South of the Narmadā, Sanskrit was only the language of the learned Though its literature lost in vigour and beauty, it became a cementing bond in the whole country On the other hand, the narrowing scope of Sanskrit and even Prakrit and Apabhramśa literature prepared the way for the spoken dialect of the people to develop into a literary speech

CHAPTER III

# LITERATURE UNDER THE PARAMĀRAS

## A D 940-1050

Break-up of the empire of Gurjaradesa (940)—Mūlarāja Chālukya's occupation of Sārasvata Mandala (942)—Sīyaka II, Paramāra ruler of Gujarāt (940-974)—Muñja (974-997)—His poetic skill—His literary associates—Padmagupta—Dhanañjaya—Dhanapāla—*Tilakamañjarī*—Bhoja the Magnificent (1010-1050)—Resurrection of the empire of Gurjaradesa—His character and achievements—Pioneer of polymathic tradition—His works—*Sarasvatī-Kanthābharana* — *Śṛṅgāraprakāsa* — *Śṛngāramañjarī* — As a philosopher

WHEN the empire of Gurjaradeśa fell about 940 the feudatories of Śākambharī (Ajmer) and Medapāta (Mewār) became practically independent Mārwār possibly passed into the hands of some Rāshtrakūta feudatory Mūlarāja, the son of Rāji the Chālukya, and a descendant of the Pratīhāra emperor of Kanauj in the daughter's line, left Mārwār and in 942 established himself at Anahilavāḍa Pattana in the Sārasvata Mandala The traditional belief that Mūlarāja was the founder of the kingdom of Gujarāt is erroneous During his time the best part of it was in the hands of the powerful Paramāra kings Sīyaka II of the Paramāra family, the viceroy and feudatory in chief of the Rāshtrakūta emperor who defeated emperor Mahīpāla, ruled over Ānarta, south of Sarasvatī, Khetaka Manḍala, West Mālwā and Lāta

The Paramāras came from Ābu and originally were the feudatories of Pratīhāra Gurjara emperors They appear to have changed their allegiance and become the feudatories of the Rāshtrakūta emperors of Mānyakheta (now Mālkhed in Hyderābād, Deccan) In c 948 Sīyaka II, the Paramāra king, ruled over a kingdom which comprised Saurāshtra, North Gujarāt, parts of South Gujarāt and parts of Mālwā [1] He grew very powerful and inflicted a defeat on the Chālukya of Rattapādi, feuda-

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1 cf Harsola Grant, *EI*, XIX, p 236

tory of his suzerain About 960 he added Ujjayinī and the region around it to his dominion When the Rāshtrakūta emperor, Krishna III, died in 968 Sīyaka marched on Mānyakheta In 974 he captured and sacked the city Flushed with victory the conqueror returned to Dhārā which he made his capital He died soon after (about 974) Under this rising Paramāra power the centre of gravity of the literary tradition shifted from Kanauj to Ujjayinī

I

In 974 Sīyaka's son, Muñja, succeeded to the throne of Dhārā which had the bulk of Gujarāt under its sway Muñja enlarged his dominions so as to include not only modern Gujarāt but also Chedi, Mālwā, Mewār, Mārwār, the Ābu region, Jhālor and Lāta He built his power on the fabric of the old Gurjaradeśa Muñja was not merely a conqueror, a gay lover and a great builder, but a poet and a patron of learning He cultivated eloquence, high poetry and logic Hemachandra refers to five *dūhās* in Apabhramśa composed by him [2]

He knew the Śāstras well [3] He wrote poetry in Sanskrit also His verses are quoted in works on poetics [4] Dhanika, in his commentary on the *Daśarūpaka,* twice quotes a verse from Vākpatirāja Muñja [5]

2 These are included in Appendix I

3 cf *EI,* pp 233ff (St 13

वक्तृत्वोच्चकवित्वतर्ककलनप्रज्ञावशास्त्रागम ।

4 Stanzas attributed to Muñja, Utpalarāja and Vākpatirāja in anthologies and works on poetics, besides those cited in the subsequent footnotes, have been collected together in Appendix I

5 *Daśarūpa* (Edited by Fitz-Edward Hall, Calcutta, 1865), pp 184 186

(१) यथा श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य
प्रणयकुपिता दृष्ट्वा देवी ससम्भ्रमविस्मितम्
त्रिभुवनगुरुर्भीत्या सद्य प्रणामपरोऽभवत् ।
नमितशिरसो गङ्गालोके तया चरणाहता—
ववतु भवतस्त्र्यक्षस्यैतद् विलक्षमवस्थितम् ॥ (पृ १८४)

(२) यथा श्रीमुञ्जस्य
प्रणयकुपिता दृष्ट्वा (पृ १८६)

The Kāshmırı poet Kshemendra quotes dıfferent stanzas composed by Utpalarāȷa, whıch was another name of Muñȷa [6]

Muñȷa dıed ın about 997 Padmagupta wrıtes of hım as follows —

We worshıp Lord Vākpatı
For he ıs the root
From whıch that heavenly creepeı sprıngs,
Whıch we call Sarasvatī
Only by hıs grace
Do we tread the path,
Whıch mıghty poets trod before us

And thus does the poet bıd hıs master farewell —

Thou, source of ȷoy voluptuous
The crest ȷewel of kıngs,
Home of nectar whıch ıs gentılıty
Ocean of wıt, Oh Lord
Thou mıght of Uȷȷayınī!

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6 *Auchıtyavıchāracharchā* of Kshemendra (*KM*, No 1 3rd Ed, 1929), st 16, p 131, *Kavıkanthābharana* of Kshemendra (*KM*, No 4, 3rd Ed, 1937), II 1, p 152, *Savrıttatılaka* of Kshemendra (*KM*, No 2 2nd Ed, 1932) II 6, 37,

(१) न तु यथा श्रीमदुत्पलराजस्य
अहौ वा हारे वा बलवति रिपौ वा सुहृदि वा
मणौ वा लोष्टे वा कुसुमशयने वा दृषदि वा।
तृणे वा स्त्रैणे वा मम समदृशो यान्तु दिवसा
क्वचित्पुण्यारण्ये शिवशिवशिवेति प्रलपत ॥ औचित्य १६

(२) यथा च श्रीमदुत्पलराजदेवस्य
मात्सर्यतीव्रतिमिरावृतदृष्टयो ये
ते कस्य नाम न खला व्यथयन्ति चेत ।
मन्ये विमुच्य गलकन्दलमिन्दुमौले—
येंषा सदा वचसि वल्गति कालकूट ॥ कवि २-१

(३) यथा श्रीमदुत्पलराजस्य
हृताञ्जनश्यामरुचस्तवैते स्थूलाः किमित्यश्रुकणा. पतन्ति।
भृङ्गा इव व्यायतपङ्क्तयो ये तनीयसीं रोमलतां श्रयन्ति॥ सुवृत्त २-६

7 *NSC*, I 7

सरस्वतीकल्पलतैककन्द वन्दामहे वाक्पतिराजदेवम्।
यस्य प्रसादाद्वयमप्यनन्यकवीन्द्रचीर्णे पथि सञ्चराम ॥

Thou wert the god of love for maidens fair,
Oh, brother unto the righteous,
Inspirer of noble arts—
Where art thou?
Wherever thou art, wait
I am coming[8]

On his death the poet truly sang —

He is dead
Lakshmī will return to Govinda,
Vīrasrī will fly back to the god of war,
But now that Muñja is no more,
Sarasvatī alone
Will have none to befriend her[9]

Descended from the Paramāras of Ābu, Muñja and his father laid the foundation of almost an empire of which Gujarāt formed the core He can therefore be claimed both by Gujarāt and Mālwā as their own, for there was no well marked distinction between them then Modern Gujarāt had not been born, nor modern Mālwā From Ujjayinī flowed the inspiration of culture which enriched the whole region

Among the literary associates of Muñja were Padmagupta or Parimala, the author of the *Navasāhasānkacharita,* an epic on Muñja's father Sindhurāja, Dhanañjaya, the author of *Daśarūpaka* (a treatise on dramaturgy), and his brother Dhanika, who wrote a commentary on the last named work, styled *Daśarūpāvaloka* and *Kāvyanirnaya,* Halāyudha who wrote a commentary on Pingala's work on metrics, Dhanapāla, the author of *Pāiyalachchhī* and *Tilakamañjarī,* and his brother Śobhana, and Amita-

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8 cf Peterson, *JBBRAS,* XVI, p 174

हा शृङ्गारतरङ्गिणीकुलगिरे हा राजचूडामणे
हा सौजन्यसुधानिधान हह हा वैदग्ध्यदुग्धोदधे।
हा देवोज्जयिनीभुजङ्ग युवतीप्रत्यक्षकन्दर्प हा
हा सद्बान्धव हा कलामृतकर क्वासि प्रतीक्षस्व न ॥

9 *PC,* p 25

लक्ष्मीर्यास्यति गोविन्दे वीरश्रीर्वीरवेश्मनि।
गते मुञ्जे यशःपुञ्जे निरालम्बा सरस्वती॥

gati, the author of *Subhāshitaratnasamdoha* Ujjayini attracted the best talents from Kanauj, Kashi and other centres of learning Muñja, therefore, was the great upholder of the imperial tradition of Gurjaradeśa after Mahīpāla He was also a great builder When he first made Dhārā his capital, he beautified it with many reservoirs, one of which is still called Muñjasāgara. He also built *ghāts* and temples at Ujjayinī, at Maheshwar on the Narmadā, at Omkār Māndhātā and Dharampur A town in Gujarāt was also founded by him and was known as Muñjapura

Muñja bore the title of *Parameśvara*, emperor, while Mūlarāja whom he vanquished was only a feudatory king, *Mahārājādhirāja* But he was a great general and a cautious and far-sighted statesman He overcame Bārappa, the viceroy of the Chālukyas of the South in Lāta, destroyed the formidable Grāharipu of Saurāshtra and subdued Lākhā Phulānī of Kachchha

## II

Dhanapāla was a resident of Ujjayinī and later in life became a convert to Jainism He settled down in Dhārā and Muñja gave him the title of Saraswatī In 976 he composed a small treatise on Prakrit lexicography called *Pāiyalachchhīnāmamālā* His *Tilakamañjarī* was composed as a *Gadyakāvya* to entertain emperor Bhoja It is an elaborate prose romance in imitation of *Kādambarī* His other works, which are in Prakrit, are mostly Jain religious poems

In 996 Muñja was put to death by Tailappa, the Chālukya king of Mānyakheta, and was possibly succeeded by his brother Sindhurāja

## III

Muñja's nephew Bhoja came to the throne of Dhārā Bhoja the Magnificent was one of the greatest rulers in history A great conqueror, a great poet and polymath, a great patron of art and literature and a philosopher, his

proverbial generosity made his name for ever a synonym for noble and royal munificence

That Gujarāt was within the empire of Bhoja appears to be incontrovertible Between 997 and 1050 Mūlarāja's son Chāmunda (997-1010) and his grandson Bhīma (1022-1064) were rulers of inferior grade whose realm only extended to Sārasvata Mandala (Sāchor) and possibly a part of Kachchha, though they called themselves Lords of Gurjara, a title inherited by them from the Pratīhāra Gurjareśvaras Modern Gujarāt was not styled Gujarāt at the time In 1019 Bhoja conquered Konkan, practically from Mahī to Goa In 1020 he is found in possession of a region round Baroda and styled *Parameśvara Paramabhattāraka,* emperor [10] His empire included the Kheda district of Gujarāt If my identification of Bhoja with the Paramadeva referred to in *Zainul Akhbār* (1047-52), the first work recording Mahmūd's conquest of Somanātha, is correct it was Bhoja's army which in 1024 frightened Mahmūd Ghaznī away from Saurāshtra, which he had raided to destroy the temple of Somanātha [11] Bhīmadeva, the Chālukya king of Anahilavāḍa, during the emperor's life never called himself an independent king but only a *Mahārājādhirāja,* a title used for a feudatory, but in 1075 we find his son Karna calling himself *Paramabhattāraka* for the first time,[12] though *Parameśvara* is dropped The temple of Somanātha, when Mahmūd retreated, was claimed to have been reconstructed both by Bhoja and Bhīma Up to 1047 the Baroda region was within his empire and so was the Nāsik district Practically the whole of Gujarāt therefore was within the empire right up to 1043 The bulk of it he inherited from his grand-father through his uncle During his time, therefore, he was the ruler of Gujarāt

As a conqueror Bhoja came to the throne in about 1010 By 1019 Ānarta, Lāta and Konkana had been occupied and the Chālukya Jayasimha of Kalyānī was

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10 cf Banswara Grant, *EI,* IX, p 182
11 cf Munshi, *GG,* II, p 139f
12 *GG,* II, p 156.

vanquished On account of the retreat of Mahmūd of Ghaznī, he had no opportunity to cross swords with him, but there is no doubt that he was sufficiently powerful to force the ruler of Ghaznī to retreat In 1035 Bhoja conquered Tripurī, the capital of Chedi In 1036 he conquered Kanauj and the line of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras was extinguished In 1042 he marched on Kalyānī and defeated and slew Jayasimha II in battle In 1043, it appears that he led a confederacy which recovered Jhānsi, Thāneshwar and other places from the viceroy of Ghaznī His imperial sway therefore extended from Chamba and Thāneshwar in the north to Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā in the south, and from Dwārakā to Kanauj Among his feudatories were not only the kings of Chamba, Dubkund, Śākambharī, Naddūla, Medapāta, Pātan with its vassals of Kachchha and Saurāshtra, Lāta and Konkana, but also Gāngeya and his son Karna of Chedi, Chālukya Jayasimha II and his son Someśvara of Kalyānī He was also the master of imperial Kanauj, no longer the seat of an empire In this wise the old Gurjaradesa was for the time being brought together The only other emperor in the country who could rival Bhoja, Rājarāja, the Chola of Tanjore, held the territory south of the Krishnā and the Tungabhadrā, the east coast districts, the whole of Orissa and parts of Bengal and Assam in vassalage, and was on terms of cordial friendship with him Above all Bhoja helped in driving out the Mlechchhas from the land

He was the greatest builder of ancient India A great devotee of Lord Śiva, he built the temples dedicated to Kedāreśvara, Rāmeśvara, Somanātha, Sundīra, Kāla, Anala and Rudra [13] The Bhojaśālā at Dhārā was a university, a particular feature of which was the Sarasvatī-Sadana or Bhāratī Bhavana, "a meeting place of great poets, of scho-

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13 Udaipur Prasasti (*EI*, I, pp 233-238), st, 20

केदाररामेश्वरसोमनाथसुडीरकालानलरुद्रसत्कैः ।
सुराश्रयैर्व्याप्य च यः समन्ताद्यथार्थसंज्ञा जगतीं चकार ॥

lars proficient in the three Vedas, of critics and accomplished men possessing great appreciation and taste and coming from all quarters"[14] Many of the monumental buildings in Dhārā, the fortress of Māndu, the *ghāts* and temples of Ujjayinī, were all built by him He built the Bhojasāgara with an area of 350 sq miles, perhaps the most magnificent fresh-water lake in the world [15] Modern Bhopāl is the remnant of the great city which Bhoja built on its bank

Bhoja was above all a literary man and a patron of learning Kingship and conquest to him were a subsidiary activity, an instrument wherewith to serve the goddess Sarasvatī His fame was not only contemporary, it has endured for the last nine hundred years He has been the universal standard for comparing any one who is liberal towards literature The *Rājataranginī* says "He (Kshitipati) and king Bhoja, famous for their great liberality, were at the same moment both poets themselves and friends of poets"[16] Mammata in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* remarks "It is the play of Bhoja in which there are such riches in the mansions of the learned"[17] Two hundred years later when Vastupāla had to be compared to a generous patron of learning, Bhoja was referred to in these terms "King Bhoja having gone to the world of the Sun, and King Muñja having secured the brilliant possessions of the heavens, Vastupāla alone is left to dry the tears of

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14 Hultzsch, "Pārijātamañjarī-nāṭikā by Madana", *EI*, VIII, pp 96-122 p 101 सा ( शा) रदादेव्या सद्मनि सकल दिगंतरोपागतानेकत्रैविद्य-सहृदयकलाकोविदरसिकसुकविसकुले

15 *IA*, XVIII, p 350

16 *RT*, VII, 259

स च भोजनरेन्द्रश्च दानोत्कर्षेण विश्रुतौ।
सूरी तस्मिन्क्षणे तुल्य द्वावास्ता कविबान्धवौ ।।

17 *Kāvyaprakāsa*, X 114

मुक्ता केलिविसूत्रहारगलिता· समार्जनीभिर्हृता
प्रातः प्राङ्गणसीम्नि मन्थरचलद्बालाङ्घ्रिलाक्षारुणा ।
दूराद्दाडिमबीजशङ्कितधियः कर्षन्ति केलीशुका
यद्विद्वद्भवनेषु भोज-नृपतेस्तत्त्यागलीलायितम् ।।

beggars "[18] That the high praise given to Bhoja was not mere rhetoric is clear from the universal testimony of succeeding ages

Bhoja himself was a versatile literary man, a polymath and a pioneer of the literary tradition of polymaths like Kshemendra of Kāshmir and Hemachandra of Gujarāt. His mastery over Sanskrit and Prakrit was unchallenged He also invented metres The age of creative art closed with Bhavabhūti, of scholarship with Rājaśekhara The age of compilers and commentators began with this encyclopaedic author Whether all the works attributed to him were his own compositions, or prepared under his supervision by others, is uncertain But he is mentioned as a writer on the *Dharmaśāstras* by Daśabala, a Buddhist writer, by Śūlapāni in the *Prāyaśchittaviveka* and by Allādanātha, Raghunandana and Vijñāneśvara On medical subjects, he is quoted in the *Bhāvaprakāśa,* and in Mādhava's *Rugviniśchaya,* on astronomy, by Keśavarka As a grammarian and lexicographer he is mentioned by Kshīrasvāmi, Sāyana and Mahīpa, and is praised as a poet by Chhittapa, Diveśvara, Vināyaka, Śankara Sarasvati and Sarasvatī-Kutumbaduhitri [19]

Unlike Hemachandra, he left no band of devoted pupils behind him who thought it their duty to hand down their master's works almost word perfect, but a study of all the works attributed to Bhoja is sure to throw light on the unity of authorship of at least some of the works showing the extraordinary sweep and richness of the royal author Eighty-four works are attributed to Bhoja, but the available works may be classified thus [20]

I Anthology (1) *Subhāshitaprabandha*
II Architecture (2) *Samarānganasūtradhāra*

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18 *Revised Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency,* By J Burgess and H Cousens, Bombay, 1897, pp 328-9, st 4
भी (भि) त्वा भानु भोजराजे प्रयाते श्रीमुजेपि स्वर्गसाम्राज्यभाजि ।
एक सप्रत्यर्थिना वस्तुपालस्तिष्ठत्यश्रुस्पदनिष्कदनाय ॥

19 cf Aufrecht, *CC,* I, p 418, II, p 95, III, p 90, *EI,* I, p 231f, VIII, pp 241-60

20 cf Krishnamachariar, *HCSL,* pp 500-4, 750f, 845, Kane, *KHDS,* I, p 719, P T S Ayyangar, *Bhoja Raja* (Madras, 1931), p 69 f, Sastri, *IA,* I, p 840, etc

III Astronomy and Astrology (3) *Ādityapratāpasiddhānta*, (4) *Rājamārtanda*, (5) *Rājamrigānka* (*karana*), (6) *Vidvajjana-vallabha* (*prasnajñāna*)

IV Dharmasāstra, Rājadharma and Polity (7) *Bhujabala* (*nibandha*), (8) *Bhūpālapaddhati*, (9) *Bhūpālasamuchchaya* (or *Krityasamuchchaya*), (10) *Chānakyanīti* (or *Dandanīti*) (11) *Chārucharyā*, (12) *Pūrtamārtanda*, (13) *Rājamārtanḍa*, (14) *Rājanīti*, (15) *Vyavahārasamuchchaya*, (16) *Yukti-kalpataru*

V Grammar (17) *Śabdānusāsana*

VI Lexicography (18) *Nāmamālikā*

VII Medicine (19) *Āyurvedasarvasva*, (20) *Rājamārtanda* (or *Yogasārasamgraha*), (21) *Rājamrigānka*, (22) *Śālihotra*, (23) *Visrāntavidyāvinoda*

VIII Music (24) *Samgītaprakāsa*

IX Philosophy (25) *Rājamārtanda* (Comm on Patañjali's *Yoga-sūtra*), (26) *Rājamārtanda* (*Vedānta*), (27) *Siddhāntasam-graha*, (28) *Siddhāntasārapaddhati*, (29) *Sivatattvaratna-kalikā*, (30) *Tattvaprakāsa* (or *Śivatattvaprakāsikā*)

X Prakrit Poems (31-32) *Kūrmasataka*, 2 vols

XI Rhetoric (33) *Sarasvatīkanthābharana*, (34) *Sringāraprakāsa*

XII Sanskrit Poetry and Prose (35) *Champū Rāmāyana*, (36) *Mahākālīvijaya*, (37) *Śringāramañjari*, (38) *Vidyāvinoda*

In the field of poetics, Bhoja wrote his *Sarasvatī-kanthābharana*, and later elaborated on the whole field including dramaturgy in the *Sringāraprakāsa*, the longest known work of the kind in Sanskrit Bhoja considered *Śringāra* (the erotic) as the principal and essential *rasa* (sentiment) He also composed the *Sringāramañjarī*, a unique prose work, in which a hetaera instructs her daughter in twelve kinds of *Rāgas* or attitudes towards her clients The author's great work on architecture, the *Samarānganasūtradhāra*, treats of the art of constructing cities, palaces and mansions *Yuktikalpataru* is a treatise on the *Dharmaśāstra* All these works are treated as authoritative and quoted by later writers

Among the literary men who flourished at his court were Dhanapāla, one Kālidāsa (not the great one but a namesake), to whom are attributed the *Nalodaya* and *Champū Rāmāyana*, Uvata (*c* 1100) a native of Vadnagar in Gujarāt who wrote his *Mantrabhāshya* on *Vājasaneyi Samhitā* of Yajurveda and his commentary on *Prātiśākhya*

at Ujjayinī, and perhaps Vijñāneśvara, the author of the famous law-text *Mitākshara*

Merutunga gives a number of anecdotes which illuminate the qualities of this extraordinary man Above and beyond the conquests he achieved, apart from the rich magnificence with which he adorned shrines, rivers and homes of learning, appears the sage comparable only to the royal sages Janaka Videhī and Marcus Aurelius To him virtuous deeds were the only justification for life As he got up every day he asked himself, "What good can I do today?" One of his sayings indicates the spirit of a *Karmayogin*

> "The sun will set in the western sky and take away with him part of life,
> Men ask me daily, 'What s the news today? Are you quite hale and glad and well?'
> How can we keep the body s health?
> Is not our life departing day by day?
> Perform today the duty of tomorrow, the afternoon's before the noon,
> For death won't wait to see if you have done the duty of the day or no
> Is death now dead? Is old now decrepit?
> Are Life's disasters now destroyed?
> Is the rush of illness quite arrested,
> that all these men are lost in mirth?"[21]

Power, glory and wealth which came to him plentifully had no permanent value for him In one of his verses he says —

> 'If I have not given my wealth to suppliants before the bright Sun sets in the west,

21 *Bhoja Raja*, p 60, *PC*, p 46

उत्थायोत्थाय बोद्धव्य किमद्य सुकृत कृतम् ।
आयुष खण्डमादाय रविरस्त प्रयास्यति ॥ १ ॥
लोक पृच्छसि मे वार्त्तां शरीरे कुशल तव ।
कुत कुशलमस्माकमायुर्याति दिने दिने ॥ २ ॥
श्व कार्यमद्य कुर्वीत पूर्वाह्णे चापराह्णिकम् ।
मृत्युर्न हि परीक्षेत कृतं चास्य न वा कृतम् ॥ ३ ॥
मृतो मृत्युर्जरा जीर्णा विपन्ना किं विपत्तय. ।
व्याधयो व्याधिता. किं नु दृप्यन्ति यदमी जना. ॥ ४ ॥

> Can any one man that is living assure me to whom this my wealth will belong on the morrow?"[22]

On his bracelets were engraved certain memorable sentences

> "Uncertain by nature is human prosperity,
> The time of possession is the time for bestowal,
> Misfortune is certain to reach you quite soon,
> Too late to discover a chance for well-doing "[23]

Bhoja had the outlook of a philosopher He heard with indulgence Dhanapāla, a fanatic Jain, who in a trenchant way condemned Vedic sacrifices and ridiculed Śiva, his guardian god Even the sacred cow did not escape the poet's pointed shaft But the emperor smiled, followed his own way and yet cherished Dhanapāla as a friend

Bhoja cannot be omitted from any literary history of Gujarāt For from 940 to 1050, Mālwā and the mainland of Gujarāt formed one integral kingdom and its greatest cultural and literary centre was Dhārā Further, the literary activities of Hemachandra were mainly inspired by Bhoja

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22 *Bhoja Raja*, p 61, *PC*, p 26

यदनस्तमिते सूर्ये न दत्तं धनमर्थिनाम् ।
तद्धन नैव जानामि प्रातः कस्य भविष्यति ॥

23 *Bhoja Raja*, p 61, PC, p 26

इदमन्तरमुपकृतये प्रकृतिचला यावदस्ति सम्पदियम् ।
विपदि नियतोदयाया पुनरुपकर्तुं कुलोऽवसर ॥

CHAPTER IV

# LITERATURE UNDER THE CHĀLUKYAS 1054-1174

Foundation of Gujarāt—Karna (1064-1094)—Bilhana—*Karna sundarī*—Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143)—Siddharāja of Broach—*Udayasundarīkathā*—Hemachandra born (1089-1173) —His life—Kumārapāla (1146-1173)—His works—His position in literature—The creator of Gujarāt consciousness—*Dvyāsraya*—*Kumārapālacharita*—*Kāvyānusāsana*—His contem poraries — Rāmachandra (1093-1174) — *Nātyadarpana* — *Satyaharischandra* —*Nalavilāsa* — *Kaumudīmitrānanda* — Drama in Gujarāt

WHEN Bhoja died in 1054, overwhelmed by his enemies, his empire fell to pieces Bhīma Chālukya, the king of Anahilavāda, became independent and was soon the master of Saurāshtra, Sārasvata Mandala, Satyapura Mandala, Kachchha, Ānarta, Khetaka Mandala, and the Mahī valley Thus was laid the foundation of Gujarāt as a separate kingdom under the Chālukyas of Anahilavāḍa Pattana

## I

Karna (1064-1094), Bhīma's son, founded Karnāvatī (modern Ahmedābād),[1] and extended his conquests as far as Navsāri But he had to face enemies on all fronts and at his death his domains had shrunk into a principality

The first drama in Gujarāt appears to have been written by the Kāshmiri Pandit Bilhana at the court of Karna The drama, *Karnasundarī,* follows the usual love theme The heroine, daughter of a *vidyādhara*, is seen by the king in a dream and later in a portrait, and he straightaway falls in love with her The queen comes in the way In order, however, not to disappoint her husband she presents to him a boy, dressed as Karnasundarī, for a bride The minister cleverly manages to bring the real Karnasundarī

1 cf *PC*, p 55
कर्णसागरतडागालंकृता कर्णावतीपुर निवेश्य स्वय तत्र राज्य चकार।

DESERT
PUSHKARA
MT ĀBU
SRĪMĀLA
CANDRĀVATĪ
PRALHADANPURA
RANA OF KACCHA
ANAHILAVĀDA
PĀTANA
SIDHAPURA
VADANAGARA
KACCHA
LITTLE RANA OF KACCHA
R SARASVATI
JHINJUVĀDĀ
MĀLVĀ
UJJAYINĪ
R SĀBARMATĪ
KARNĀVATĪ
DADHIPADRA
KHETAKPURA
DHAVALLAKA
GODHRAHAKA
DHĀRĀ
VARDHAMĀNPURA
DHANDHUKA
STAMBHATĪRTHA
VATAPADRA
DVĀRIKĀ
JAMBUSARAS
VALABHĪPURA
CĀNDODA
SURĀSHTRA
KĀPIKĀ
NĀNDODA
JĪRNANAGARA
SINHAPURA
BHRGUKACCHA
AKRŪRESVARA
VĀMANASTHALI
PĀLITĀNĀ
MANGROLA
RANDER
BHADRAPALLĪ
PRABHĀSA
NAVASĀRIKĀ
DAMANAGANGĀ
LĀTA
NĀSIKA
KONKANA
SŪRPĀRAKA
STHĀNAKA
GURJARA BHŪMI
70
72
74
76
GURJARA BHŪMI UNDER SIDHARĀJA AND KUMĀRAPĀLA

to the place of marriage and the drama ends happily It is probable that this plot was suggested by an incident in the life of king Karna himself which is referred to by Hemachandra in his *Dvyāśraya* According to this authority Karna fell in love with Mayanallā Devī or Mīnala Devī by seeing her portrait [2] The play was composed between 1080 and 1090

## II

Karna was succeeded by his son Jayasimha Siddharāja (1094-1143) He met with great difficulties at the beginning of his career, but by 1114 he had conquered Saurāshtra By 1127 he had conquered up to and inclusive of Kotāh He conquered Rājputāna up to Mewār In 1130 he conquered and annexed Mālwā

Jayasimha Siddharāja made Anahilavāda Pattana the seat of an empire He united North and South Gujarāt, annexed Kāthiāwār, Kachchha and Mālwā and carried his conquering arms to Ajmer in the north, Kolhāpur in the south, Mahobaka (modern Mahobā) in Bundelkhand in the east He was an indomitable warrior, a great monarch, and a very generous patron of art and learning During the fifty years of his rule, Gujarāt became rich, powerful and conscious of its greatness The foundations of a new literary movement were laid, Pātan acquired an all-India reputation as a seat of culture

Siddharāja was not merely a great warrior He was as great, if not greater, as a builder and a patron of learning He tried to vie with Bhoja in magnificence He rebuilt Rudramahālaya of Siddhapur and constructed the magnificent lake Sahasralinga at Pātan [3] He built temples and dug lakes all over his kingdom and diverted to

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2 *Dv* IX 95

तत्रेक्ष्य लिखिता कन्यामुत्कोभूद्राडुवाच च।
ईदृग्रत्न सुवै रत्नगर्भाप्येव न चिन्तयेन्॥

3 *PC*, pp 61-2, *Dv* XV, 114-8, Gode, "Identification of the Siddharaja-Saras" *SILH*, pp 244-50

Pātan the wealth, art and literature for which Ujjayinī and Dhārā had been famous

Pātan was converted into a great University town and the home of all kinds of learning Siddharāja invited Bhāva Brihaspati, the *guru* of the Paramāra kings, to come and stay in Gujarāt He brought the library of Bhoja to Pātan and inspired Hemachandra to write his grammar and emulate Bhoja [4] It was the collapse of the Paramāras which attracted the learning of Ujjayinī and Dhārā to Gujarāt

Siddharāja died in 1143 and after a short struggle for succession, Kumārapāla his nephew came to the throne

## III

Pātan inherited the learning for which both Valabhīpura and Bhillamāla had been famous Dhārā and Ujjayinī helped to keep alive the high literary tradition of classical Sanskrit in the schools of learning in Gujarāt The Brāhmanas invited by Mūlarāja to settle in Siddhapur in Gujarāt brought their literary and cultural traditions with them The Nāgara Brāhmanas of Ānandapura (modern Vadnagar) persisted in their loyalty to high Brahmanical tradition, taste and learning, Uvata, a Nāgara (c. 1100), for instance, as referred to above, wrote commentaries on Vedic works at the court of Bhoja The Jain *sādhus* not only continued to write religious works but carried their activities into the field of secular learning

The literary activities of Lāta are represented by Soḍḍhala He was born somewhere near Bhrigukachchha, and was a Vālabha Kāyastha He was brought up by his uncle Gangādhara At Sthānaka, Thānā, three successive kings of Konkan honoured him with their friendship Vatsarāja, the king of Lāta, also invited him to his court He finished his work, *Udayasundarīkathā,* at *Śūrpāraka* between 1026 and 1050 He was proud of his Kāyastha lineage, which he traced from Kālāditya, the brother of

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4 cf *PC*, pp 60–1

Śīlāditya of Valabhī, and regarded himself as the peer of Vālmīki and Bāna[5] His work is an imitation of *Kādambarī* Notwithstanding the existence of this and other productions, literary history of this period in Gujarāt remains dim, till it is lighted up by Hemachandra

Hemachandra's works have been preserved with great care by generations of Jain *sādhus* They have, however, surrounded his life and achievements with unreliable episodes A comparative study of the main legends, tested by autobiographical details supplied by Hemachandra himself, would yield a different picture of this poet, saint, politician, and polymath, the first great literary man who was born in Gujarāt, who worked for Gujarāt and created the group consciousness of Gujarātis

On Kārttika Śukla, 5, Samvat Year 1145 (1089) Chāngā was born a Modha Vaiśya at Dhandhukā At the early age of eight, he was given away by his devout mother to Devachandra of the Pūrnatalla Gachchha, a learned Jaina *sādhu* Devachandra took the boy to Stambhatīrtha, Cambay, and under the patronage of Udayana, the governor of the town, initiated him as a *sādhu* with the name of Somachandra The infant *sādhu* then began his peregrinations, acquiring knowledge as he went about At the age of twenty-one he was promoted to the dignity of a *suri*, a preceptor Thereafter, the little *Chāngā* was known as Hemachandrasūri

Hemachandra soon came to be acknowledged as a learned Jain *sādhu* The Jains were very powerful in Gujarāt from the tenth century onwards, when the warrior and trader communities, like the Osvāls and Poravāds of Bhillamāla, migrated to Pātan The *sādhus*, who had carried on their religious and philanthropic propaganda under humiliating conditions till then, gained status It was therefore but natural that they should thenceforth strive to remove the badge of inferiority which had been imposed upon them by the more powerful and learned Brāhmanas Poets like Dhanapāla had acquired a great

5 Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, pp 475 f, Udayasundarīkathā (*GOS*, Baroda, 1920), pp 6 *ff*, 11, 12, 153-7

HEMACHANDRA

position at Dhārā But the example of Siddhasena Divākara and Haribhadra in their efforts to raise Jain literature to the level of the Brahmanical, has been followed by many *sādhus* They had felt an urge towards participation in the great literary and philosophical movements which, through Sanskrit, were maintaining the homogeneity of politically divided India The Jain *sādhus* no doubt suffered from great disadvantages Their favourite language was the dead Prakrit, their audience was small and mostly composed of the uninfluential, and their doctrine was considered heterodox

Persistent attempts had been made by the Jain *sādhus* in Pātan to enlist the sympathy of the ruling Chālukyas, and when Siddharāja came to the throne it looked as though they would be rewarded with success His mother Minala, Mayanallā Devī, was a Jain and so were some of his ministers When Jayasimha conquered Mālwā, Pātan was already on its way to become a great centre of learning Hemachandra stood out at this critical hour as the most erudite of the Jain *sādhus* in Pātan

In 1138 he led to Pātan the delegation of learned men who waited upon Siddharāja to offer their congratulations on his victory The conqueror had just returned trimphant from his war with Mālwā Siddharāja, jealous of the glory of Bhoja and of the literary reputation of his court, asked Hemachandra to write a Sanskrit grammar, and procured for the scholar the then available grammars from different parts of the country [6] This was the scholar's opportunity for which he had long been waiting He compiled his famous text-book of grammar, and associating his name with that of the monarch, called it *Siddhahemachandra* Siddharāja got copies of it made, and sent them to all the kings in India Twenty copies were sent to Kāshmir then considered the home of the goddess of learning This gave

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6 *PC*, p 60

बहुभ्यो देशेभ्यस्तत्तद्वेदिभि· पण्डितैः सम सर्वाणि व्याकरणानि पत्तने समानीय श्रीहेमचन्द्राचार्यै· श्रीसिद्धहेमाभिधानं अभिनव पञ्चाङ्गमपि व्याकरणं सपादलक्ष-ग्रन्थप्रमाणं संवत्सरेण रचयाचक्रे।

Hemachandra a reputation throughout India, and set him on the career of a polymath in the footsteps of Bhoja the Magnificent

Hemachandra was appointed court poet, and began to compose *Dvyāśraya Mahākāvya,* in which he described the glories of his patron's dynasty while illustrating the rules of Sanskrit grammar He acquired considerable influence over Siddharāja which served to protect the Jains from the indignities of jealous Brāhmanas who were powerful at court

On Siddharāja's death, Kumārapāla came to the throne in 1143 and Hemachandra went back to his literary work

Kumārapāla for a few years maintained the integrity of the empire Between 1160 and 1170 he added Konkan to Gujarāt [7] He was however incapable of indulging in grandiose projects of conquests or monumental buildings and did not love incense He was called to the throne when old in age and seasoned by adversity as few kings before him were, and was peace-loving

About 1157 Hemachandra came in intimate contact with the king, who had successfully completed a series of campaigns against his neighbours A man of culture, now about sixty-two years old, the king easily fell under the influence of the scholar, which soon drove the military commanders to revolt or into retirement Hemachandra in fact ruled Gujarāt through his powerful Jain disciples and the Jains accepted the king as their co-religionist Jain authors of the succeeding centuries have taken delight in dwelling upon this incident to show that the king adopted the Jain faith to the exclusion of the worship of Somanātha, the tutelary god of the Chālukyas [8] This claim is pitched too high Reliable evidence establishes that Kumārapāla was a Śaiva till 1169, four years prior to his death, and that he was not converted to Jainism, if by that

7 *PC*, p 80, *GG* II, pp 190 1
8 cf Munshi, *GG*, II, pp 191-3, *PC*, p 86, *KPS*, p 396, etc

is meant that he gave up his devotion to Śaivism [9] It is equally well established that he accepted Hemachandra as a counsellor and went to Jain temples, that as a result of Hemachandra's advice, he issued edicts prohibiting the selling and eating of meat, and traffic in intoxicating beverages He gave up meat and wine, gambling, lechery and the chase and took the vows which a devout Jain takes *Ahimsā*, non-violence (in the Jain sense of non-killing) was adopted as a basis of active social and political reform, bringing about a decay in military tradition The military glory of Gujarāt built up by Jayasimha began to vanish

Hemachandra died in 1173 and six months later his royal patron followed him His literary activities continued till his death The commentary on the lexicon *Anekārthasamgraha*, left unfinished, was completed by his disciple Mahendra, after his death

## IV

Hemachandra's works may be classified as follows —

I *Grammar* (1) *Siddhahema* or *Siddhahemaśabdānuśāsana* with commentaries (125,000 verses) At places the author has literally borrowed from Śākatāyana, an earlier Jain grammarian The eighth chapter deals with Prakrit (largely borrowed from Vararuchi) and Apabhramśa

II *Lexicon* (2) *Abhidhānachintāmani* Left incomplete Borrowed freely from *Amarakośa*

(3) *Anekārthasamgraha* (Dictionary of Homonyms) Left incomplete

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9 Udayapur Inscription (*IA*, XVIII, pp 341 ff), *Prithvīchandracharita* by Säntisuri (colophon), Stone Inscription in Bhadrakālī temple at Prabhāsa Patana, dated Valabhi Samvat 850 (= A D 1169) (*CPSI*, p 186-188, st ff 11, 34)

गडो भावबृहस्पति. स्मररिपोरुद्वीक्ष्य देवालय
जीर्णं भूपतिमाह देवसदनं प्रोद्धर्तुमेतद्वच ॥११॥

भक्ति स्मरद्विषि रति परमात्मदृष्टौ
श्रद्धा श्रुतौ व्यसनिता च परोपकारे।
क्षातौ मतिः सुचरितेषु कृतिश्च यस्य
विश्वंभरेऽपि च नुति· सुतरां सुखाय ॥३४॥

(4) *Nighantu Śikshā* (Dictionary of Botanical terms)

(5) *Deśīnāmamātā* (Prakrit) with commentary

III *Prosody* (6) *Chhandonuśāsana,* dealing with Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa metres with commentary

IV *Poetics* (7) *Kāvyānuśāsana* with commentaries *Alamkārachūdāmani* and *Viveka* borrowed in parts from Mammata and other authors

V *Logic* (8) *Pramānamīmāmsā*

VI *Epics* (9) *Dvyāśraya* in Sanskrit (20 cantos) and Prakrit [also called (10) *Kumārapālacharita*] (8 cantos), both being historical poems illustrating the rules of grammar

VII *Legendary Biography* (11) *Trishashti-śalākā-purusha-charita* (being the lives of 63 notable Jains (32,000 verses) rewritten from Śīlāchārya's (*c* 870) *Chaupanna-Mahāpurushachariya*

(12) *Pariśishtaparvan* (3,500 verses)

(13) *Mahāvīracharita*

**VIII** *Miscellaneous* (14) *Yogaśāstra,* (15) *Stotras*

Hemachandra identified Mahāvīra with Śiva To him Jainism was the noblest of doctrines which made up *dharma* He respected the Vedas, worshipped Somanātha, and accepted the authority of the *Mahābhārata* and *Manusmriti* He was an apostle of Aryan Culture Sanskrit was to him life itself and the classical *kāvyas,* grammars and poetics were the source of his inspiration Though a zealous propagandist of his faith, he was not a separatist He gave his sect and province an honourable status in the cultural life of India and became, for his time, the greatest representative of scholastic learning in India

Hemachandra was the greatest representative of that literary age It was an age of decadence, it did not possess a spark of the creative art of a Bāna or a Bhavabhūti, not even the originality and outlook of Rājaśekhara Pedantic, tediously descriptive, never profound, it accepted compilation as a substitute for scholarship

Hemachandra tried to copy Bhoja's polymathic achievements, but Bhoja's range of knowledge and inte-

rests was wider and his literary taste and execution were of a distinctly higher order The character of the literary activities of these polymaths was determined by their respective temperaments and spheres of life There was something grandiose about Bhoja's achievements, military, architectural and literary, and if his emphasis on Śringāra indicates any personal predilection, he, in spite of his philosophic outlook, inherited Muñja's attitude towards love Hemachandra's life was cast in the narrow mould of a Jain *sādhu* It was devoted to the propaganda of his faith His early training naturally made him look upon Prakritic studies as important and religious narrative literature as essential to his proselytising duties

Hemachandra's studies in Prakrit are invaluable His detailed treatment of Apabhramśa grammar and prosody is the only work of its kind which has been recovered so far His *Deśīnāmamālā* is the largest collection of *Deśi* words known to modern scholarship Naturally therefore Hemachandra's works are the most important early sources for a study of the *Deśī* element in the Prakrit and Apabhramśa and the present day North Indian languages His Prakrit grammar and lexicons contain words unknown to classical Sanskrit but which appear in some form or other in the Middle and New Indo-Aryan languages

Many of his works are valuable compilations or borrowings from earlier works and preserve for us the wealth of earlier learning now lost to us

## V

With the break-up of the Gurjara empire in 940, the Āryāvarta consciousness as an effective group sentiment disappeared in politics The aggressive pride of the new royal families, the segregation of Brāhmanas and Vaiśyas into castes separate from the Kshatriyas, the inveterate policy of maintaining relentless foes on their throne as restless feudatories, and the wars of succession at the death of almost every ruler, contributed to the disintegration of the political organisation The Āryāvarta consciousness as a political sentiment had disappeared Dur-

ing this period the localisation of sentiments grew apace and even conquerors like Muñja and Bhoja prided themselves on being kings of Dhārā

If Siddharāja was the political creator of Gujarāt, Hemachandra was the creator of the Gujarāt consciousness Siddharāja's one aim in war and peace was to outshine the traditional fame of the semi-mythical Vikramāditya and of Bhoja Paramāra with whose fame India was then resounding He was a generous man, amenable to flattery and anxious to attain immortality if literature could procure it for him He was building an empire, and the people of Gujarāt were acquiring the proud tradition of being a great people Hemachandra gave the tradition a conscious form He gave up the peregrinations enjoined by his religious vows, and with masterly skill and statesmanship, concentrated his intellectual powers upon leaving a great literary heritage to Gujarāt

## VI

But the work which gave birth to Gujarāt consciousness was *Dvyāśraya* It was not merely a laudatory poem, it deliberately fostered a pride in the greatness of the Chālukya kings, who had made it a power and given it glorious associations In this work he described the achievements of the Chālukyas in the orthodox literary style and invested them with the dignity which classical poets had reserved for the ancient royal houses of Sūrya (the Sun) and Chandra (the Moon) Gurjarabhūmi in Hemachandra's work became a great country, Pātan rivalled the glories of ancient Ayodhyā The march of Mūlarāja on Grāharipu of Saurāshtra was described in the manner of Raghu's conquests [10] As literature this latter day specimen of Kāvya, but for stray flashes of poetic power and some historical material, is lifeless and pedantic Hyperbolic praise of his royal masters betrays not only the courtier poet but indicates that the political horizon of this foremost Indian scholar of the age was restricted to the frontiers of his small province

10 *Dv* Cantos II-V.

*Kumārapālacharita*, illustrating the rules of Prakrit and Apabhramśa grammar, is an attempt to give a Vikramāditya of its own to Gujarāt It has served as a model for innumerable *charitas, prabandhas* and *rāsās* which have kept alive the memory of Chālukyan Gujarāt, fostered provincial patriotism and helped to build up a tradition of unity for modern Gujarāt. Siddharāja gave political greatness to Gujarāt Hemachandra gave it a distinctive literary and historical consciousness by localising both sentiment and perspective In two hundred years the Āryāvarta consciousness of Rājaśekhara gave place to Hemachandra's Gujarāt consciousness Naturally, to Hemachandra, Mūlarāja was the creator of Gujarāt and, in a sense, he was, and he it was who was responsible for giving a narrow and partial view of Gujarāt's history by setting the limit at 942

The poem opens with a description of Kumārapāla and the feudatories waiting upon him Anahilapura is then described, as also the wealth of its king, the splendour of its Jain temples, and the liberality with which the king worshipped at these temples The magnificence of the king's possessions, his gardens, the luxury in which he lived, and the pastimes of his people during different seasons are then dealt with Canto VI deals with Kumārapāla's war with Mallikārjuna of Konkana Ambada, minister Udayana's son, who bore the title of Rājapitāmaha, achieves a victory over the king of Konkana and brings his head, covered with gold, to Kumārapāla The other conquests of the king are then referred to In canto VII, Kumārapāla wakes up to find himself a Jain uttering religious wisdom, and invokes Śrutadevī The goddess, in canto VIII, delivers a sermon full of the well-known philosophic and religious doctrines of Jainism It is very poor as a *kāvya*, but it aims at conciseness and proportion, and possesses some literary art, which later Gujarāti poets never succeeded in reproducing Prakrit, as this work shows, was next to Sanskrit the literary language of the Jain *sādhus*

*Trishashtiśalākāpurusha*, re-written from Śīla's (c 870)

*Mahāpurushachariya*, and *Pariśishtaparvan* are lengthy collections of Jain legends of heroes and saints They are typical of Jain literature In one of them, for instance, Chandragupta Maurya is made out to be a devout Jain Ordinarily very crude, they appeal only to those who are fired by the ardour of faith In Dr Keith's words, they do not attain the level of literature [11]

His *Kāvyānuśāsana* is borrowed from Mammata's famous *Kāvyaprakāśa* and other similar works [12] His grammar, *Siddhahemachandra*, is a monumental work The first seven *adhyāyas* deal with Sanskrit, and the eighth with Prakrit, Śauraseni, Māgadhī, Paiśāchī, Chūlikāpaiśāchī and Apabhramśa The work is more in the nature of a text book prepared from works of authority, but has been of immense value in the study of Prakrit and Apabhramśa His *Yogaśāstra* is very elementary, and falls far below the standard of many Jain works on the subject

## VII

Hemachandra spent his life in trying to assert the ethical and literary superiority of his sect over the Brāhmana scholars at the court of Pātan Their names and works have been unfortunately lost to us Āmiga, the grandfather of the poet Someśvara, a Brāhmana of Vadnagar, was the hereditary family priest of Siddharāja and a man of learning He was able to resist Hemachandra's attempts to acquire exclusive influence over the king The great Bhāva Bṛihaspati, respected by Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, and the king of Ujjayinī, was by all accounts a mighty, venerable Brahmana of interprovincial influence Kakkala, a *Kāyastha*, and a friend of Hemachandra, was a great grammarian But we know nothing of them except what is conveyed by stray and biased references in the works of Jain authors

Of the Jain contemporaries of Hemachandra, the avail

11 *HSL*, p 294

12 cf Gode, *SILH*, pp 26-30, *HK* I, pp 521-3, De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, I, p 203, etc

able list is fairly long But most of them have left purely religious works One of them, however, is noteworthy Srīpāla (c 1095-1154) was, according to Jain authorities *Kavīndra*, or poet laureate, of Siddharāja The king, it is stated, had great affection for him and called him brother [13] He is said to be the author of a lost *Kāvya*, *Vairochanaparājaya* Some of his *prasastis*, eulogies, and a few of his verses quoted by other authors are available, and prove the poet's mastery over the technique then universally accepted by Sanskrit poets Any estimate of his poetic worth is impossible The poet's son and grandson were also poets Two minor poets, Vardhamāna and Sāgarachandra, have left poems in eulogy of Siddharāja. Vāgbhata, doubtfully identified with the son of the minister Udayana, wrote a work on poetics on the lines of Hemachandra's *Kāvyānuśāsana*

## VIII

Literary works have been left by some pupils of Hemachandra, the most noteworthy of these being Rāmachandra (c 1093-1174) Siddharāja gave him the title of '*Kavikatāramalla*' [14] He appears also to have been a recipient of royal favour during the reign of Kumārapāla. But according to a story preserved by the *Prabandhakośa* (1349), he tried to prevent Ajayapāla from succeeding Kumārapāla on the throne That prince, upon his accession, took his revenge by making the politically minded *sādhu* stand on a red-hot piece of copper Rāmachandra was a prolific writer Some of his works possess real merit, a rare thing for an age in which mere capacity to write in streotyped Sanskrit was often the only passport to literary fame The poet called himself the author of a

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13 cf Krishnamachariar, *HCSL*, pp 195 f, also *EI*, I, pp 293 ff, st 30-
एकाहनि(ष्प)न्नमहाप्रबध श्रीसिद्धराजप्रतिपन्नबन्धु ।
श्रीपालनामा कविचक्रवर्ती प्रशस्तिमेतामकरोत्प्रशस्ताम् ॥

14 cf *Nalavilāsa* (GOS, Baroda, 1926), Intr pp 27-8

hundred *prabandhas*, out of which over twenty-five have come down to us [15]

*Nātyadarpana*, a treatise which Rāmachandra composed in collaboration with Gunachandra, another pupil of Hemachandra, has valuable quotations from lost plays, and is a store-house of literary and historical material This treatise, though planned on Dhanañjaya's *Daśarūpa*, shows its author to be an original thinker He departed from the orthodox theory that there were only ten kinds of dramas, and added *Nātikā* and *Prakarana* to make them twelve But a bolder departure was to have divided *rasa*, sentiment, into pleasurable and painful [16] All the authorities, including Hemachandra, had insisted that the *rasas* must produce pleasure similar to that of realizing Brahma But according to Rāmachandra, people go to see painful dramas in order to see the skill of the poet or the actor [17] Thus he entered upon a defence of tragedy Rāmachandra combated another prevailing belief that an actor did not experience the feelings which he represented He maintained that an actor would himself feel what he wanted his audience to feel 'just as a prostitute, in trying to please others, does herself experience pleasure' [18] Evidently the

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15 cf प्रबन्धशतविधाननिष्णातबुद्धिना (*Kaumudīmitrānanda*, p 2) प्रबन्धशतकर्तुर्महाकवे रामचन्द्रस्य (*Nirbhayabhīmavyāyoga*, Prastāvanā) Thirty-nine works have been enumerated in the introduction to the *Nalavilāsa* (p 33)

16 *ND*, III 109, pp 158 ff

स्थायी भाव श्रितोत्कर्षो विभाव-व्यभिचारिभि ।
स्पष्टानुभावनिश्चेय सुख-दु खात्मको रस ॥

17 cf *ND*, p 159

अनेनैव च सर्वाङ्गाह्लादकेन कवि-नटशक्तिजन्मना चमत्कारेण विप्रलब्धा परमानन्दरूपता दु खात्मकेष्वपि करुणादिषु सुमेधस प्रतिजानते तदास्वादलौल्येन प्रेक्षका अपि एतेषु प्रवर्तन्ते।

18 cf *ND*, p 160

पण्यस्त्रियो हि धनलोभेन पररत्यर्थं रतादि विपञ्चयन्त्य कदाचित् स्वयमपि परा रतिमनुभवन्ति । . एव नटोऽपि रामादिगत विप्रलम्भाद्यनुकुर्वाण. कदाचित् स्वयमपि तन्मयीभावमुपयात्येवेति।

author was not merely a theoretical exponent of dramatic technique, but had practical experience of stagecraft

Few dramas appear to have been written after Rāja-śekhara Hemachandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* describes in detail twelve different kinds of dramas and has a dissertation even on acting Rāmachandra is credited with having written eleven dramas His *Satya Harischandra* is a drama in six Acts In this drama the poet deals with tragic situations in a manner which is reminiscent of Bhavabhūti Other dramas of Rāmachandra are not extant, but he must be ranked as the most prolific dramatist of the age and one who boldly departed from the decadent traditions of the time, though it cannot be stated that he achieved any approach to the great masters of drama, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti

His *Nalavilāsa* is a good instance from which to judge his literary worth The story of Nala and Damayantī is so brimful of human appeal and dramatic situations that few men of letters in India have escaped its fascination The story originally told in the *Mahābhārata,* has been made use of, among the old eminent authors, by Gunādhya, Kshemendra, Somadeva, Śrīharsha and Trivikrama, and among the Jain writers before Rāmachandra, by Dharmasena, and Hemachandra After him, numerous Gujarāti authors through the centuries have worked upon it He alone, however, has tried to introduce realism into the drama by eliminating some of its miraculous incidents, like the message sent through a swan This may have been necessitated by the exigencies of the stage It may have been also a result of literary perception unusual for those times, and entitles the poet to rank high among latter-day dramatists

## IX

Another noteworthy drama by the same author is *Kaumudīmitrānanda* It is a *prakarana,* a bourgeois comedy The plot is made up of a number of incidents loosely woven together as in *kathās* It is very much inferior to the *prakarana* masterpiece *Mrchchhakatika,* but has some delightful touches At places, it discloses a

sense of humour, and is characteristically free from allegory and the aggressively propagandistic features of Jain works

Mitrānanda, a merchant, with his friend Maitreya, while at sea, is stranded on an island occupied by a gang of swindlers disguised as ascetics The leader of the gang has a novel method of robbing people He entices strangers to marry his daughter, Kaumudī, and after the marriage contrives to have them flung into a pit under the nuptial chamber But on this occasion when Mitrānanda makes love to Kaumudī, she actually falls in love with her father's intended victim and reveals to him the impending danger Both seek safety in flight to Simhaladvīpa (Ceylon)

Their path, however is beset with danger Mitrānanda, taken for a thief, is arrested, but is saved by the king whose son he has cured of snake-bite The king leaves him and Kaumudī in charge of the minister The minister, enamoured of Kaumudī, sends away Mitrānanda to one of the king's vassals, who wants a victim for human sacrifice Mitrānanda is, however, recognised and saved by his friend Maitreya who happens to be in great favour with the vassal

Kaumudī is turned out of the minister's house by his jeaous wife She wanders until she meets Sumitrā, daughter of a merchant Shortly afterwards, she is captured, with Sumitrā's family, by Prince Vajravarman When in captivity Kaumudī and Sumitrā meet Makaranda, a friend of Mitrānanda Sumitrā marries Makaranda, and the three begin their unhappy adventures They encounter a *kāpālika* who, in order to kill Makaranda, revives a corpse But the resurrected man kills the *kāpālika* instead Makaranda then repairs to the king of Ceylon and finds Mitrānanda The drama, so full of incoherent marvels, ends happily as Kaumudī meets her long-lost husband

The lovers have been walking for a long time Mitrānanda offers to massage Kaumudī's tired feet She, abashed, will not let him do so "To forget good manners is not

praiseworthy for the daughter-in-law of a respectable family" Then follows this dialogue

Mitrānanda —(to himself) She does not know my family, nor my temper I have not conferred any obligation upon her And yet this dark-eyed one has given up her relatives for me Really women are thoughtless when in love [19]

(to Kaumudī) Dear, you have willingly undertaken great hardship, left your home, borne cold, heat and wind, wandered on foot, made yourself the laughing-stock of relatives who loved you so long, and all this for me, a merchant from a very distant country, whose family, character and wealth you do not know, whose love you cannot be sure of You wish to climb the mountain but blindly You wish to cross the ocean without even a cockle shell to carry you across Without remedy at hand, you have lashed a big snake to fury

Kaumudī Āryaputra, all women behave like this Why are you surprised at this conduct of mine? Women, inspired by love, leave their long-cherished family for lovers whom they have seen but for a moment [20]

Mitrānanda —(to himself) Women are pre-eminent among the heroic Blinded by love, they hold their life as a blade of grass [21]

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19 *Kaumudīmitrānanda*, IV 2

न मे गोत्र वेद प्रकृतिमपि न
स्वभावस्था किं चोपकृतमपि नास्या किमपि मे।
तथाप्येषा बन्धूनमुचदसिताक्षी मम कृते
पुरन्ध्रीणा प्रेमग्रहिलमविचार खलु मन ॥

20 *op cit*, IV 3 (Sanskrit Chhāyā on p 41 note)

क्षणमात्रदृष्टप्रियजनप्रेमभरोद्विह्वला महिला ।
चिरपरिचितानपि मुञ्चन्ति बान्धवानेषा किल प्रकृति ॥

21 *op cit*, IV 4

वीरेषु गणना पूर्वं परमर्हन्ति योषित ।
यास्तृणायाभिमन्यन्ते प्राणान्प्रेमान्धचेतसः ॥

Kaumudī — They may go to foreign lands, suffer misery, wander unhappily, but they are true to their lovers, not to their own people.[22]

In Gujarāt this was a century of drama On festive or religious occasions, as a rule, plays were performed in temples with some kind of scenic display, and considerable attention was paid to acting Out of the twenty-six dramas, discovered and undiscovered, which Gujarāt has contributed to the six hundred odd dramas in Sanskrit, twenty-three belong to the century between c 1150 and 1250, and of these Rāmachandra composed as many as eleven He wrote four varieties, *nātaka, prakarana, nātikā* and *vyāyoga* Three dramas were written by two other pupils of Hemachandra, Devachandra and Yaśaśchandra, and the rest by writers of the succeeding two generations Among them was Yaśahpāla who wrote *Mudrita-Kumudachandra-Prakarana* and *Rājamati-prabodha.* The first relates to the debate between Devasūri, a Śvetāmbara *sādhu* and Kumudachandra a Digambara *sādhu* It gives a graphic picture of the social and religious atmosphere in Gujarāt Other dramas written under the influence of this school in Gujarāt were Devachandra's *Chandralekhāvijayaprakarana,* Vijayapāla's *Draupadīsvayamvara,* Rāmabhadra's *Prabuddharauhineya,* Bālachandra's *Karunāvajrāyudha* and Subhata's *Dūtāngada* which was staged at the reception of Kumārapāla The poet Subhata appears to have styled himself Mahākavi [23]

Rāmachandra made a great effort to revive the drama in Gujarāt But life and culture both were stagnating all over India for want of creative urge and the inspiration of Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti had ebbed out

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22 *op cit*, IV 5 (Sanskrit Chhāyā on p 42 note)

देश व्रजन्ति विषमं सहन्ते दु·ख भ्राम्यन्ति दु खिताः।
तथापि महिलाना प्रेम दयिते न स्वजनवर्गे॥

23 cf *Dūtāngada* (KM, 28, Ed Bombay, 1935) p 2

पदवाक्यप्रमाणपारगतेन महाकविना सुभटेन...।

## CHAPTER V

# APABHRAMŚA LITERATURE

Early references to Apabhramsa—Its extent—Its early literature — Dhanapāla (c 900) — *Bhavisayattakahā* — The literature found in Hemachandra's works—in the works of Somaprabha (1185)—in the works of Merutunga (1303)—*Muñja rāsa*

APABHRAMŚA was a literary language of Gujarāt at least from the time of the rise of Valabhīpura Dandin (c 500) recorded that literature found expression in four media Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramśa, and Mixed "The speech of Ābhīras and others in literature is known as Apabhramśa," he said, thus clearly implying that Apabhramśa was spoken not only by Ābhīras but by others as well, and that it had become the object of literary culture [1] Bhāmaha (c 650) described *Kāvya* as threefold Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramśa [2] Rudrata (c 900) put it on a level with the older literary Prakrit and Sanskrit, and recognised varieties according to the country in which it was spoken [3] Rājaśekhara (c 900) made it a limb of *Kāvyapurusha*, poetry personified, and referred to it as be-

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1 *Kāvyādarsa*, I 32, 36

तदेव वाङ्मय भूय सस्कृत प्राकृत तथा।
अपभ्रशश्च मिश्र चेत्याहुरार्याश्चतुर्विधम् ॥३२॥
आभीरादिगिर. काव्येष्वपभ्रश इति स्मृता ।
शास्त्रे तु सस्कृतादन्यदपभ्रशतयोदितम् ॥३६॥

2 *Kāvyālamkāra* I 16

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ काव्य गद्य पद्य च तद्विधा।
संस्कृतं प्राकृत चान्यदपभ्रंश इति त्रिधा ॥१६॥

3 *Kāvyālamkāra*, II 12

प्राकृतसस्कृतमागधपिशाचभाषाश्च सूरसेनी च।
षष्ठोऽत्र भूरिभेदो देशविशेषादपभ्रशः ॥१२॥

ing used in the literature of Mārwār and Saurāshtra[4] In his time, it was a literary language Bhoja (c 1000) contemptuously refers to the Gurjaras as being satisfied with this language and no other[5] Namisādhu (c 1069) calls Apabhramśa Prakrit itself, and refers to its varieties, Upanāgara, Ābhīra and Grāmya According to him, the language could be properly learnt only from the people themselves[6] Thus, Apabhramśa had one dialect for citizens, another for Ābhīras, a third for the vulgar

Considerable light has been thrown of late on Apabhramśa and its literature It is clear that it was never a spoken language and at no stage of its history was it identical with the *deśabhāshās*, the dialects of the day It was mainly the language of poetry, for, so far, no prose work in Apabhramśa has been recovered Its sound system was taken from the literary Prakrits while its grammatical system and idiomatic expression were taken from the *deśabhāshās* Nine-tenths of the words used in Apabhramśa verse are the same as the words used in Prakrit verse, one-tenth of the word-stock however was *deśī* and most probably taken from the *deśabhāshās* of the day The grammatical structure on the other hand was more developed than that of the Prakrits and was the parent of the grammatical structure of modern Indian languages like

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4 *Kāvyamīmāmsā*, pp 6, 34

शब्दार्थौ ते शरीर सस्कृत मुख प्राकृत बाहु जघनमपभ्रश पैशाच
पादौ उरो मिश्रम्। (p 6)

सुराष्ट्रत्रवणाद्या ये पठन्त्यर्पितसौष्ठवम्।
अपभ्रशावदशानि ते सस्कृतवचास्यपि॥

5 *Sarasvatīkanthābharana* (KM, 94, Bombay, 1925), II 13

शृण्वन्ति लटभ लाटा प्राकृत संस्कृतद्विष ।
अपभ्रशेन तुष्यन्ति स्वेन नान्येन गुर्जरा ॥१३॥

6 Comm on Rudraṭa's *Kāvyālamkāra* (KM, 2, 3rd Ed Bombay, 1928), p 15

तथा प्राकृतमेवापभ्रश । स चान्यैरुपनागराभीरग्राम्यत्वभेदेन त्रिधोक्त-
स्तन्निरासार्थमुक्त भूरिभेद इति। कुतो देशविशेषात्कारणात्। तस्य च
लक्षण लोकादेव सम्यगवसेयम्।

Gujarātī and Hindī in their early stages The spirit of the language also is more allied to these modern Indian languages than to the Prakrits For instance, the idioms characteristic of Apabhramśa are more akin to those of modern Indian languages while literary Prakrits have a closer affinity with Sanskrit It therefore appears that the *deśabhāshās* of the day could make their appearance in literature only as Apabhramśa and not in their pure unmixed form The basic texture being Prakrit, there was no fixed limit up to which the *deśī* elements could penetrate into Apabhramśa It was therefore but natural that as time went on, the *deśī* element became stronger and stronger till it led to a stage represented by the language of the *Prākṛita-Paingala* about the fourteenth century In such works only vestiges of Apabhramśa proper are found

Earlier authorities recognise three dialects of Apabhramśa,—Vrāchada, Nāgara and Upanāgara Vrāchada, it seems, was comparatively more archaic When it was refined it became Nāgara [7] When there was a considerable admixture of Prakrit in it, it came to be called Upanāgara But as Nāgara or classical Apabhramśa, as exemplified in Hemachandra's Prakrit grammar, found favour as a literary language over wider areas, it began to accept local elements from different provinces within its range These dialectical variations of Nāgara Apabhramśa were recognised by Rudrata (c 900) From the published Apabhramśa works two varieties of Apabhramśa can be roughly distinguished, viz the Gurjara Apabhramśa mostly used by the Śvetāmbara Jains who resided in Gurjaradeśā, and the southern variety used by the Digambara Jains who worked in the South Some of the peculiarities of the Gurjara Apabhramśa were inherited by Old Western Rājasthānī and through it by Gujarātī and Mārwārī On the other hand some of the peculiarities of the Digambara Apabhramśa have curiously come down to Vra-

7 cf Keith *HSL*, p 35

jabhāshā. No clear-cut division, however, is discernible, for both varieties draw lavishly from each other

Generally, Apbhramśa was cultivated by the Jain *sādhus*, but the Buddhists and the Hindus did not eschew this literary medium, though with the exception of the *Dohākośa,* composed in East Bengal, no Buddhist Apabhramśa work has been recovered so far The older view held by Grierson that Apabhramśa was the transitional stage between Prakrit and the present day Indian languages, and that there were as many Apabhramśas as there were Prakrits, does not hold good The Vrāchaḍa variety is generally associated with Sindh The second variety, said to be the idiom of the Ābhīras, is the Gurjara variety Old Western Rājasthānī and Vrajabhāshā are allied to Apabhramsa more than any other New Indo-Aryan language From this it is clear that Apabhramśa had its birth in Sindh, Rājasthān and Gujarāt and was a Western dialect

Extensive Apabhramśa literature has come to light and it is now possible to form a rough idea of its scope and nature Its extreme limits can be placed between the sixth and the fifteenth centuries A D , though the latter limit is somewhat flexible It is impossible to determine at what point of time Apabhramśa ceased to exist and the modern Indian language came on the scene The Apabhramśa tradition, however, continued in literature even after the tertiary deśabhāshās became literary languages

The literature in Apabhramśa, which is mostly religious or didactic and enclosed in a narrative frame, falls into the following categories —

1 The Ḍharmakathā literature falling under the following heads —

(a) *Charitras*, lives of religious notables, mythological, legendary or historical,

(b) The *Mahāpurānas,* the lives of the sixty-three eminent persons of the Jain faith,

(c) The epics embracing the story of Rāma and Krishna, like the *Paumachariya,* and the *Harivamśapurāna*

(d) *Kathākośa*, connected with the *Bhagavatī Ārādhanā* of the Digambaras

2 Other literature is (i) religious, dealing with Jain doctrines or inspired by the mystical and mystico-religious spirit, or (ii) didactic But it would be an error to believe that there was no secular literature in Apabhramśa Though no single work has come to light so far, most of the works contain clear evidence that there was considerable literature in Apabhramśa which was heroic or erotic

But the most popular form of literature was the social *dharmakathā*, of which an excellent specimen has been preserved *Bhavisayattakahā* (Sanskrit, *Bhavishyadattakathā*) was composed by Dhanapāla about the tenth century

The poet belonged to a *Dhakkada Vanik* family The style bears traces of Sanskrit inspiration, the descriptions are vivid and true to life and the story is well-told It is made up of two disjointed parts, the original *kathā*, and the typical Jain ending The first part of the story is very interesting, rich in adventure, and powerful in appeal In some places, it possesses the freshness which we associate with the stirring tales of the *Arabian Nights*

In the city of Gajapura, or Hastinapura, there lived a young, handsome and wealthy merchant, and his wife, Kamalaśrī, who gave birth to Bhavishya, the hero of the poem He grew up into a very attractive child and received both a liberal and a military education

His father grew cold towards the mother and married a second wife, Surūpā She gave birth to Bandhu datta, who grew up strong and turbulent, wanton and pleasure-loving He was a terror to respectable citizens A desire to go to foreign lands took possession of this boy, and he collected about him needy young merchants ready to participate in his adventures Even the king could not withhold permission from this impetuous youth His brother, Bhavishya, was also infected with the spirit of adventure and joined his younger brother

The father's parting advice is reminiscent of Polonius's

"If through obduracy you decide to go, (keep this in mind), never speak a harsh word Son, speak like an ignorant man who knows not the ways of commerce Never give your heart even to friends Speak little and in measured terms Increase your wealth by all means, if need be even by deceiving and making signs with hands Praise your own commodities, and learn the mind of the other party by diverting his attention Never let your secrets be known, and always try to know those of others Heed not another's actions, even if you come to know of them, deflect not from your course Do not let anyone know your character, but discover the nature of others by gaining their confidence "[8]

They sailed down the river Yamunā and came to the open sea A gale drove their little fleet to a distant island, Mainākadvīpa by name The young adventurers landed on the island Bhavishya went into the interior in search of fruits and flowers, and was soon lost to sight Bandhudatta had now an opportunity to translate his hatred for his brother into action, and, in spite of remonstrances of his companions, ordered the party to set sail

When Bhavishya found that he had been left alone on an unknown island, he courageously entered the forest full of birds and beasts, and after making an offering to Jina, he took a path which led across the mountains He came upon a city with lofty buildings, beautiful archways, white painted houses with half open doors and windows,

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8 *BK*, II 6 (p 15)

तुडिंहि चडिवि जइ त किर किज्जइ, वयणु वि नउ करालु जपिज्जइ ।
बोल्लहि पुत्त जेम अण्णाणिउ, किं वणिउत्तहं मग्गु न याणिउ ।
सुहियहि हियउ णाहिं अप्पिव्वउ, परिमिउ थोउ थोउ जपिव्वउ ।
अत्थु विढप्पइ विविहपयारिहिं, वचिवि करसन्नासचारिहिं ।
अप्पुणु पक्खे भडु सलहिव्वउ, अण्णहो चित्त विचित्तु लहेव्वउ ।
अप्पुणु अगु णाहि दरिसिव्वउ, अण्णहो तणउ परामरिसिव्वउ ।
घत्ता । परकज्ज सुणतु वि णउ सुणइ, अप्पण कज्जहो णउ चलइ ।
ण कलावइ केणवि णियचरिउ, परहो अगि पइसिवि कलइ ॥६॥

and a market-place rich in wares All these, however, presented an unearthly appearance The palace was untenanted and silent "All musical instruments had assumed silence with the thought that there was nobody to play on them"[9] Undaunted, Bhavishya came to a temple, where he duly offered worship, and went to sleep

The god Achyutanātha came to know of his plight, and ordered Manibhadra, the king of the Yakshas, to protect Bhavishya and lead him back safely to Gajapura When Bhavishya awoke from his sleep, he heard words directing him to go to a house where his future wife awaited him He followed the direction, and found a lovely maiden, "whose limbs, visible through her filmy dress, slyly laughed at him"[10] She slowly overcame her shyness and besought him to take her away before the demon, who had made the city lifeless, destroyed him Bhavishya narrated to her his own story, was convinced that they were made for each other, and offered marriage to her The girl expressed willingness to accept him

On hearing this, the son of Pankajaśrī (Bhavishya) gifted with good manners and well-born, smiled, and said "Oh long-eyed one, what you say is right I am myself amazed Deserted by my own relatives and kinsmen, I was led to you in this way, no doubt, by my good fortune The traders with whom I came, left me alone in the forest, and as I wandered from place to place, I came to your house Drive all your fears of danger away Have no fears, daughter of a good merchant You are well born I, son of a well-born merchant, am from Kurujāngala Fate alone has brought us together Now everything will soon be well"[11]

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9 *Bk*, IV 11 (p 28)

एव्वहिं अम्हहिं को वज्जवइ, थक्कइ मउणु लएविणु णावइ।

10 *BK*, V 9 (p 32)

पोत्ततरउब्भिन्नपयासइँ, त विहसति पिहियपरिहासइ

11 *BK*, V 14 (p 35)

त निसुणिवि पकयसिरिपुत्ति, विहसिउ सीलकुलक्कमजुत्ति।

हे पसयच्छि कहिउ पइ चगउ, महु अच्छेरयविभिउ अगउ।

The young lady trembled with excitement, and straightaway, "was pierced with the arrows of the god of love" The girl "with tremulous eyes," though overpowered by bashfulness which showed her graces to advantage, was bold and quite modern She asked "Why don't you do what is imminent?"

But she did not yet know the man's character

Bhavishya, muttering a prayer to Vīra, firmly replied, "O lady with lovely eyes, what you say is right But, beauteous maid, I have vowed to abstain from unceremonial wedlock When some one is found to give you to me in marriage, your desire will be satisfied If nobody gives your hand to me, we shall live only as comrades in spirit " The girl perceived that he was an extraordinary man and restrained her feelings The sun was about to set [12]

A desert isle, a setting sun, a beautiful maiden and a handsome man discovering their soul's affinity, the girl's audacious question, and the reply are elements in a situation full of charm and romance And it is the work of a celibate Jain *sādhu* addressed to a Gujarātī middle-class audience a thousand years ago!

One day the demon appeared, fearful as darkness, like unto "the loud laughter of Death" Bhavishya faced

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हउ मि इत्थु दइवि सजोइउ, नियबधवसयणहि विच्छोइउ।
जेण समाणु वणिज्जें आयउ, तेण जि वणि घल्लिउ असहायउ।
सेरउ दीवि दीउ भमतउ, बलणि तउ मदिरि सपत्तउ।
एवहिँ हरि दुरिउ विसज्जहि, अभउ अभउ भउ सयलु विवज्जहि।
तुहु वणिवरकुमारि कुलि पुगले, हउ वणिउत्तु देसि कुरुजगले।
विहिवलणि सघडिउ समागउ मच्छुड होसइ सयलु वि चगउ ॥१४॥

12 *BK*, V 15 (p 35)

पभणइ वीरचरित्तु अकपिउ, चगउ पइ पसयच्छि पयपिउ।
अह महु मुद्धि परिप्फुडमाणहो, अत्थि निवित्ति अदत्तादाणहो।
जाम्वहिँ मज्झु को वि पइं देसइ, तामहिँ सव्वु तेम त होसइ।
अह नउ देइ कोइ तउ अगउ, ता अम्हह साहम्मियसगउ।
घत्ता। तो चिँतिउ ताए, एहु कोवि सामन्नु नवि।
सवरिउ वियारु, ताहि अत्थवणहो ढुक्कु रवि ॥१५॥

him, ready to fight  But the demon suddenly recollected his own former life and took kindly to the hero  In a sudden outburst of friendliness, he made the city hum with life, and bestowed it, as also the maiden, on the lucky hero

Years passed, happy for Bhavishya and his wife, unhappy for the bereaved parents in distant Gajapura  In the course of time, the young lovers grew tired of the city "To live in this lonely city is to see a dream, or to dance in darkness "  They left it, and with all their valuables, came to the seashore, where they hoisted a signal on the top of a tree to attract the attention of a passing ship

Bandhudatta's party was again shipwrecked on the island, and met the couple  Bhavishya forgave his perfidious brother, loaded him with presents, and told him his story  Bandhu, though still jealous and spiteful, spoke sweet words and celebrated their reunion  In a happy mood, they all prepared to leave the island  But when the boats were ready, Bhavishya happened to be away making a religious offering, and Bandhu repeated his old trick  Heedless of every one's protests, he set sail carrying away with him the bride and the wealth of his brother

The story now begins to suffer in interest  Bandhu made unsuccessful overtures to Bhavishyānurūpā, his brother's wife  Ultimately, he reached Gajapura, passed off the lady as his wife, and the wealth as his own, and received great honours from the king  Only Kamalā, Bhavishya's mother, was disconsolate as her son was not among those who had returned

The king of the Yakshas, however, brought Bhavishya to Gajapura in his aerial car  The hero met his mother, and sought justice from the king  The king wanted to punish the perfidious brother, Bandhu, but forgave him at the instance of his magnanimous brother  The guilty all being forgiven, the king, to crown the general feeling of reconciliation, offered his daughter Sumitrā, to Bhavishya

The prince of Poyanapura, in the meantime, marched on Gajapura  The king of Gajapura offered resistance,

his army led by Bhavishya And in the battle that ensued, the king was victorious owing to the valour of the hero The conqueror was appointed *Yuvarāja* by the king This was, perhaps, the closing incident of the story as it originally stood before a Jain author retouched it Bhavishya and his wife went to Tilakadvīpa, where a sage explained to them the principles of Jainism, and recounted the past lives of Bhavishya The hero, thereupon, renounced the world

Hemachandra has preserved several quotations from the Apabhramśa literature of the earlier centuries If these quotations are any indication, the literature of the time was mythological, religious, didactic, erotic and heroic The elegant phrase and the picturesque image so often found in these verses indicate a well-developed literature

## HEROIC

Look at my lord, he has been described as the breaker of the temples of elephants gone wild in a hundred battles [13]

Oh friend, it is just as well that my lord has been killed in the battle Had he come home vanquished, I should have felt ashamed before my friends [14]

On the field of battle where arrows destroy arrows and swords cut swords, my husband cuts his way through a crowd of warriors [15]

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13 *PV*, IV 345 1

सगर-सऍंहिं जु वण्णिअइ, देक्खु अम्हारा कन्तु।
अईमत्तहँ चत्तङ्कुसहँ, गय कुम्भइँ दारन्तु॥

14 *PV*, IV 351 1

भल्ला हुआ जु मारिआ, बहिणी महारा कन्तु।
लज्जेज्जन्तु वयसिअहु, जइ भग्गा घरु एन्तु॥

15 *PV*, IV 357 1

जहिं कप्पिज्जइ सरिण सरु, छिज्जइ खग्गिण खग्गु।
तहिं तेहइ भड-घड-निवहि, कन्तु पयासइ मग्गु॥

Dear friend, my husband when he is angry destroys his enemies with his hands as well as his weapons [16]

When both of us have gone to the field of battle, who will doubt victory? And who will seize the Goddess of Death by the hair and live?[17]

Cowards say thus, "We are but few, while enemies are many" Look at the sky, young lady How many are there to give moonlight?[18]

If a man cannot lay down life in defence of honour he should leave the country He should not wander about with the finger of the wicked pointed at him [19]

DIDACTIC

The ocean keeps grass on the surface and jewels at the bottom, so too, the master abandons his good servants and honours the wicked ones [20]

Merits do not beget fame, but may beget wealth A lion is not valued while an elephant costs lakhs People get the fruits they are destined to receive [21]

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16 *PV*, IV 358 1

कन्तु महारउ हलि सहिए, निच्छइँ रूसइ जासु।
अत्थिहिँ सत्थिहिँ हत्थिहिंवि, ठाउ वि फडइ तासु।।

17 *PV*, IV 370 3

पइँ मइँ बेहि वि रण-गयहिं, को जयसिरि तक्केइ।
केसहिं लेप्पिणु जम-घरिणि, भण सुहु को थक्केइ।।

18 *PV*, IV 376 1

अम्हे थोवा रिउ बहुअ, कायर एम्व भणन्ति।
मुद्धि निहालहि गयण-यलु, कइ जण जोण्ह करन्ति।।

19 *PV*, IV 418 4

माणि पणट्ठइ जइ न तणु, तो देसडा चइज्ज।
मा दुज्जण-कर-पल्लवेंहिं, दंसिज्जन्तु भमिज्ज।।

20 *PV*, IV 334 1

सायरु उप्परि तणु धरइ, तलि घल्लइ रयणाइँ।
सामि सुभिच्चु वि परिहरइ, सम्माणेइ खलाइँ।।

21 *PV*, IV 335 1

गुणहिं न संपइ कित्ति पर, फल लिहिआ भुञ्जन्ति।
केसरि न लहइ बोड्डिअ वि, गय लक्खेंहि घेप्पन्ति।।

People take fruits from trees, but cast off bitter leaves But great trees, like good men, bear those leaves on their laps [22]

A wicked person, falling from a great height, destroys himself and others even as a boulder, rolling down from the top of a mountain, crushes others [23]

Very rare, indeed, in this Kali age, is the man who hides his own virtues and reveals those of others I pay my homage to that good man [24]

To whom is life not dear? Who has no love of money? When time comes, the great consider both of them contemptible as grass [25]

The fire under the ocean does not care whether the waters are dried up Is it not enough that it keeps on burning even in water? [26]

## EROTIC

The body had not met his body The lips did not touch his lips Even as I was drinking in his lotus face the meeting came to an end [27]

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22 *PV*, IV 336 1

वच्छहे गृण्हइ फलइँ जणु, कडु-पल्लव वज्जेइ।
तो वि महद्दुमु सुअणु जिवँ, ते उच्छङ्गि धरेइ॥

23 *PV*, IV 337 1

दूरुड्डाण पडिउ खलु, अप्पणु जणु मारेइ।
जिह गिरि-सिङ्गहुँ पडिअ सिल, अन्नु वि चूरु करेइ॥

24 *PV*, IV 338 1

जो गुण गोवइ अप्पणा, पयडा करइ परस्सु।
तसु हउँ कलि-जुगि दुल्लहहों, बलि किज्जउँ सुअणस्सु॥

25 *PV*, IV 358 2

जीविउ कासु न वल्लहउँ, धणु पुणु कासु न इट्ठु।
दोण्णि वि अवसर-निवडिअइ, तिण-सम गणइ विसिट्ठु॥

26 *PV*, IV 365 2

सोसउ म सोसउ च्चिअ उअही वडवानलस्स किं तेण।
ज जलइ जले जलणो आएण वि किं न पज्जत्त॥

27 *PV*, IV 365 2

अङ्गहिँ अङ्गु न मिलिउ हलि, अहरेँ अहरु न पत्तु।
पिअ जोअन्तिहे मुह-कमलु, एम्वइ सुरउ समत्तु॥

Why cannot this young lady see further by the light of the moon, when she can see her hand in the darkness by means of the rays issuing from her face?[28]

What pity can these breasts have for others, when they come out bursting their own heart? Men, take care of yourselves The breasts of maidens are ruthless [29]

If she loves me, she will be dead by now, and if she be still alive, she has no love for me In any way I have lost my wife Why do you thunder, you wicked cloud?[30]

Oh bee, don't make a buzzing noise in this forest Don't lament as you look in that direction The Mālatī creeper whose separation has brought you to death is in another country [31]

My heart has been captured by you, you have been taken in by her, she dances to the tune of another O beloved, what can I do? What canst thou? It is just like one fish swallowing another [32]

During the Chālukyan period, several Jain *sādhus* composed prayers and religious legends in Apabhramśa Most of these religious compositions were adaptations from the Prakrit which had long ceased to be understood by the

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28 *PV*, IV 349 1

निअ-मुह-करहिँ वि मुद्ध कर, अन्धारइ पडिपेक्खइ।
ससि–मण्डल–चन्दिमएँ पुणु, काइँ न दूरे देक्खइ॥

29 *PV*, IV 350 2

फोडेन्ति जे हियडउँ, ताहँ पराई कवण घृण।
रक्खेज्जहु लोअहो अप्पणा, बालहेँ जाया विसम थण॥

30 *PV*, IV 367 1

जइ ससणेही तो मुइअ, अह जीवइ निन्नेह।
बिहि वि पयारेंहि गइअ, धण किं गज्जहि खल मेह॥

31 *PV*, IV 368 1

भमर म रुणझुणि रण्णडइ, सा दिसी जोइ म रोइ।
सा मालइ देसन्तरिअ, जसु तुहुँ मरहि विओइ॥

32 *PV*, IV 370 2

महु हिअउँ तइँ ताए तुहुँ, स वि अन्नें विनडिज्जइ।
पिअ काइँ करउ हउँ काइँ तुहुँ, मच्छें मच्छु गिलिज्जइ॥

ordinary people When the *sādhus* at the court of Pātan, who formed the aristocracy among the Jain *sādhus*, devoted themselves to Sanskrit, their humble co-workers continued to cater for the needs of the masses in their own language But even their language soon ceased to develop on independent lines Those who made use of Apabhramsa looked for inspiration to the *sādhus* who employed Sanskrit, and such fragments as have come down to us show that Apabhramśa literature flourished in the twelfth century on the wealth of expression and the grace of style furnished by Sanskrit masterpieces

The following extracts from Somaprabha's *Kumārapālapratibodha* will suffice to give an idea of the lines of progress which Apabhramśa followed

Eloquent with sweet notes of the cuckoo, Spring comes to the earth like unto a bard of the great king, Love, like a warrior proud of his victorious might [33]

Seeing the Sun taking in his arms (Kara=rays and hands) Dame North, Dame South sighed Malaya breezes The sylvan goddess, covered by reddish new leaves, glows, as if dressed in red apparel, in the arms of her lover, Spring [34]

The fresh blossoms of mango trees sparkle with swarms of black bees, as if the flames of love were emitting a stream of smoke [35]

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33 *KPS*, p 38

अह कोइल–कुल–रव–मुहलु, भुवणि वसतु पयट्टु ।
भट्टु व मयण–महा–निवहु, पयडिअ–विजय–मरट्टु ॥

34 *KPS*, p 38

सुरु पलोइवि कत-करु, उत्तर–दिसी आसत्तु ।
नीसासु व दाहिण–दिसहु, मलय–समीरु पवत्तु ॥
काणण–सिरि सोहइ अरुण–नव–पल्लव–परिणद्ध ।
न रत्तसुय–पावरिय, महु–पिययम–सबद्ध ॥

35 *KPS*, p 38

सहयारिहि मजरि सहहि, भमर–समूह–सणाह ।
जालाउ व भयणानलह, पसरिय–धूम–पवाह ॥

Hemachandra has quoted two verses from a lost *Muñjarāsa* Merutunga has given some more, and has also based *Muñjaprabandha,* in his *Prabandhachintāmani,* upon it Evidently, it was a popular poem of the eleventh century describing the adventures of Muñja Prithvīvallabha the king of Mālwā (c 974-996) Its sentiments were unsophisticated and its language was based on popular idioms Perhaps it was what Hemachandra calls a *grāmya mahākāvya*

Muñja, the gay lover and the indomitable conqueror, travels every night twelve *yojanas* to meet a lady-love Later, his passion cools down, and she addresses him thus —

'Muñja, the bond of love is already loose Fool, don't you know that the thunders of Āshāḍha are already heard, and soon the roads will be unfit (for your dromedary to travel)?'[36]

'As you leave my arms, so do I leave yours Where is the fault? But if you leave my heart, I shall know that Muñja is wroth with me'[37]

"The water-maiden bears up life by kissing her own hands—the hands which drank the crystal clear water in which the beloved Muñja was reflected'[38]

Muñja carries on a life-long war with king Tailappa of Karnātaka Against the advice of his minister, Rudrāditya, he crosses the Godāvarī, is defeated and captured by Tailappa Tailappa's sister Mrinālavatī, a widow, falls in love with Muñja While both are looking in a mirror, the elderly widow bewails her grey hair

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36 *PC*, p 21 n 19

मुञ्च षडल्ला दोरडी, पेक्खिसि न गमारि।
असाढि घण गज्जीइ, चिक्खिलि होसेऽबारि॥

37 *PV*, IV 439 3

बाह विछोडवि जाहि तुहुँ, हउँ तेवँइ को दोसु।
हिअअ-ट्ठिउ जइ नीसरहि, जाणउँ मुञ्च सरोसु॥

38 *PV*, IV 439 2

रक्खइ सा विस-हारिणी, बे कर चुम्बिवि जीउ।
पडिबिम्बिअ-मुजालु जलु, जेहिँ अडोहिउ पीउ॥

Muñja says, "Mrinālavatī, do not weep over departed youth Sugarcandy, even if broken into a thousand pieces, will taste sweet "[39]

Efforts are being made by Muñja's friends to rescue him from the subterranean cell in which he is kept Muñja insists on taking Mrinālavatī with him She, afraid of losing her lover if they go to Dhārā, informs her brother about the plan, and it is frustrated by Tailappa

'Men are but fools who confide in women with their hundred moods, sixty minds and thirty-two hearts '[40]

Tailappa forces Muñja to beg from door to door The poet says

'Why did you not die by fire or string? Why did you not become a heap of ashes? Today Muñja, tied to a string, is taken from house to house like a dancing monkey '[41]

While begging, Muñja calls upon the spirit of his departed minister who had advised him against crossing the Godāvarī

'Rudrāditya, now in heaven, unattended I stand, deprived of my elephants, chariots, horses and men Call me to you, I stand with my face towards you '[42]

A proud damsel contemptuously gives him when to drink in a cup made of dry leaves Muñja says

'Simple-hearted damsel! Do not turn away in pride, seeing me with a cup of leaves in my hand Muñja was

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39 *PC*, p 23, 1 6

मञ्जु भणइ मुणालवइ, जुव्वणु गयउ न झूरि।
जइ सक्कर सयखण्ड थिय, तोइ स मींठी चरि॥

40 *PC*, p 23, 1 15

सउ चित्तह सट्ठी मणह्, बत्तीसडा हियाह्।
अम्मी ते नर ढड्ढसी, जे वीससइ तियाह्॥

41 *PC*, p 23, 1 17

झोली तुट्टवि कि न मूउ, कि हूउ न छारह पुञ्जु।
हिण्डइ दोरी दोरियउ, जिम मङ्कडु तिम मुञ्जु॥

42 *PC*, p 23, 1 23

गय गय रह गय तुरय गय, पायक्कडा नि भिच्च।
सग्गट्ठिय करि मन्तणउ, मुहुता रुद्दाइच्च॥

once the master of fourteen hundred and six elephants but now he has lost them all '[43]

Mrinālavatī offers alms to Muñja

Muñja says "Mrinālavatī, if wisdom after the event is the same as before it, no one would be overcome by calamity "[44]

Mrinālavatī replies

'When luck turned, even the ten-headed king (Rāvana) the master of seas and the lord of the forts of Lankā, was destroyed Therefore, Muñja, do not grieve '[45]

Ultimately Muñja meets death under the feet of Tailappa's elephant [46]

The language of this poem approximates to the earliest specimen of Old Gujarātī found in the works of the twelfth century The deśabhāshā of the people Old Gujarātī, was spoken from about 1100, or perhaps, earlier

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43 *PC*, p 24, 1 1

भोली मुन्धि म गव्वु करि, पिक्खिवि पडुरूयाइं ।
चउदह सइ छहुत्तरइ, मुञ्जह गयह गयाइ ॥

44 *PC*, p 24, 1 15

जा मति पच्छइ सम्पज्जइ, सा मति पहिली होइ ।
मुञ्च भणइ मुणालवइ, विघन न वेढइ कोइ ॥

45 *PC*, p 23, 1 21

सायरु षा(खा)इ लकु गढु, गढवइ दस सिरु राउ ।
भग्ग–ष(ख)इ सो भञ्जि गउ, मुज म करसि विसाउ ॥

46 My novel *Prithvīvallabha* is based on these sources

CHAPTER VI

# SOMEŚVARA AND HIS TIMES

Yasahpāla (c 1174)—*Moharāȷa—Parāȷaya*—Somaprabha (1185) — *Kumārapālapratıbodha* — Polıtıcal changes (1179-1297) — Vīradhavala, Vastupāla, and Teȷapāla — Vastupāla as patron of learnıng—Somesvara (1194-1254)—*Kīrtıkaumudī—Surathotsava—Ullāgharāghava*—Prahlādana (1164-1209) *Pārtha Parākrama*—Vastupāla's *Naranārāyana*—Arısımha's *Sukrıtasamkīrtana*—Balabhadra's *Vasantavılāsa*—Jayasımha's *Hammīramadamardana* (1222)—Udayaprabha — Subhata — Medıcal works—The artıstıc value of the lıterature

ON the death of Kumārapāla, hıs nephew Aȷayapāla (1174-76) succeeded to the throne, but not wıthout combatıng a conspıracy ın whıch some of Hemachandra's pupıls were ınvolved He was not amenable to theır ınfluence as was hıs uncle before hım, and later Jaın authors had theır revenge by attrıbutıng to hım vıces of whıch contemporary records absolve hım

## I

Yaśahpāla, a Jaın *Modha Vanık* occupyıng a hıgh posıtıon ın the kıng's servıce, composed an allegorıcal drama *Moharāȷaparāȷaya,* celebratıng the supposed conversıon of Kumārapāla to Jaınısm The drama was composed at Kumāra-vıhāra at Thārāpadra, modern Tharāda, near Pālanpur [1] The drama, except for Kumārapāla, Hemachandra and, perhaps, the court ȷester, contaıns allegorıcal characters, and ıs a good specımen of latter-day lıterary performances Yaśahpāla's style ıs sımple and delıghtful, but lacks the classıcal touch In technıque, ıncıdent and human ınterest hıs work ıs decıdedly ınferıor to that of Rāmachandra

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1 *Moharāȷaparāȷaya* (GOS, Baroda, 1918), p 2

यदद्य मरुमण्डलकमलामुखमण्डनकर्पूरपत्राङ्कुरथारापद्रपुरपरिष्कारश्रीकुमारविहारक्रोडालङ्कारश्रीवीरजिनेश्वरयात्रामहोत्सवप्रसङ्गतमस्तोक सामाजिकलोकस्यापि निस्तुषरसोपनिषन्निस्यन्दिनो रूपकस्याऽभिनयदर्शनेन परमप्रमोदसंपदं संप्रापयेति।

Jñānāpana, the spy sent to report on Moha, Delusion, comes to king Kumārapāla and reports that Moha has successfully besieged the city of 'Man's mind' Its king, Vivekachandra, the Moon of Discrimination, has fled, taking his wife and his daughter, Kripāsundarī, Compassion, with him One of Kumārapāla's queens, Kīrtimañjarī, Garland of Fame, with her brother Pratāpa, Valour, is also reported as thinking of going over to Moha, as the king had fallen under the influence of a Jain *sādhu*

In Act II, Kumārapāla sees Kripāsundarī, and falls in love with her The queen, Rājyaśrī, Royalty, is angry with the king, and the king asks to be forgiven In Act III, Punyaketu, the Banner of Merit, conceals himself behind the statue of a goddess, and making believe that the goddess is speaking, prevails upon Rājyaśrī not only to give up her wrath, but to send an offer for Kripāsundarī's hand But when the offer is sent, Viveka consents only on condition that the seven vices are banished from the kingdom, and that the king abolishes the practice of confiscating the estate of men dying without male issue The king agrees to the conditions and forgoes the property of a dead millionaire who, however, turns up with a new bride in an aerial car In Act IV, gambling, flesh-eating, drinking, slaughter, theft and adultery are banished in spite of the plea that they bring in revenue In Act V the king, armed by Hemachandra with his *Yogaśāstra*, wins a victory over Moha

*Moharājaparājaya* contains materials for reconstructing the life and splendour of Pātan and its merchants, 'whose wealth was the envy of emperors' An interesting episode refers to the act of Kumārapāla in abrogating the law whereby the estate of a deceased man leaving a widow but no son was escheated to the crown When the king is informed that a millionaire, Kubera, has died and that his vast wealth has lapsed to him under the law, he feelingly expresses himself thus

> 'What policy is it which entitles wicked kings to take a dead man's wealth, collected by him in high hopes, after a long struggle, and with a multitude of worries? The sinners who

> snatch away the loin from a weeping woman may not have any compassion, but have they no sense of shame?'[2]

Again, when he finds that the relatives of the deceased will not enter his house before the king's servants take possession of his wealth under the law, he said

> 'Afraid of the king, the relatives of a person dying sonless cannot even perform his obsequies The members of his family, crying with grief, are made miserable by the king's servants who, more ruthless than the servants of Death, are busy searching for wealth'[3]

These verses throw light on a custom then in vogue and on the sentiments which ruled Kumārapāla's conduct A court receiver in an administration suit filed on the death of a man under modern law, has scarcely improved upon these ancient ways of king's men

In Yaśahpāla, we have the logical extension of the literary movement which Hemachandra introduced, of weaving round the kings of Pātan an atmosphere which classical *kāvyas* had created round the epic heroes But literary inspiration had receded into the background Siddharāja, Kumārapāla, and Hemachandra were invested with a transparently semi-mythic importance, and the classical style was unabashedly made to ply the bard's inglorious trade, or play a hand-maid to the religious zealot

## II

The next author of importance was Somaprabha, a *sādhu* He wrote his *Kumārapālapratibodha* about 1185,

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2 *Moharājaparājaya,* III 19

आशाबन्धादहह सुचिर सचित क्लेशलक्षै
केय नीतिर्नृपतिहतका यन्मृतस्व हरन्ति।
क्रन्दन्नारीजघनवसनाक्षेपपापोत्कटाना—
मा· किं तेषा हृदि यदि कृपा नास्ति तत्किं त्रपापि॥

3 *Moharājaparājaya,* III 21

कर्तुं तत्क्षणमौर्ध्वदेहिकमहो पापं भयाद्भूभुजा
निष्पुत्रस्य मृतस्य बान्धवजन. स्निग्धोऽपि नासीदति।
क्रन्दन्तीं च कदर्थ्यते गृहजनोऽन्विष्यद्भिरन्तर्धन
धिक्कष्ट यमकिन्करैरिव नृपव्यापारिभिर्निष्कृपैः॥

twelve years after Kumārapāla's death at Pātan in the *upāśraya* of Siddhapāla, Śrīpāla's son The work was read by the author to Gunachandra and two other disciples of Hemachandra [4] The work is principally in Prakrit and Apabhramśa, with some parts in Sanskrit The author sets out his object thus

'Though the lives of Hemachandrasūri and Kumārapāla are interesting from other points of view, I desire to say something about the teaching of the Jain faith only '[5]

And faithfully does the author keep his word, for the work is a series of sermons on Jain vows supposed to have been delivered by Hemachandra to Kumārapāla, and gives an exaggerated account of how the latter carried them into practice This lengthy work is dreary and devoid of any literary or historical value It is useful only as a landmark It shows how, within two decades, the Jain *sādhu* canonised Hemachandra and Kumārapāla, and absorbed them so completely in their religious literature that they ceased to be looked upon as men Idolatry, in literature as in life, finds a fertile soil in India, and ruins the literary gifts of many who would otherwise be noteworthy writers

The author's other works are *Sumatināthacharita,* a religious work, *Sūktimuktāvali,* a collection of didactic verses, and *Śatārthakāvya,* a single stanza which the poet himself interprets as having a hundred meanings [6] None of these are of any literary value

A remarkable work is *Pañchākhyāna* by Pūrnabhadra (1199) It is a revised version of the *Pañchatantra* of Vishnuśarman This edition, prepared by the *sādhu* at

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4 *KPS,* Intr p iii, also pp 477-8

5 *KPS,* p 3

जइ वि चरिय इमाण मणोहर अन्थि बहुयमन्न पि।
तह वि जिणधम्म–पडिबोध–बधुर किं पि जपेमि॥

6 The stanza reads

कल्याणसारसवितानहरेक्षमोह
कान्तारवारणसमानजयाद्यदेव।
धर्मार्थकामदमहोदयवीरधीर
सोमप्रभावपरमागमसिद्धसूरे॥

the instance of a minister of Jhālor, has enabled modern scholars to restore this valuable contribution of India to the literature of the world [7]

III

Ajayapāla died in 1176, and was succeeded by his infant son, Bāla Mūlarāja, who died about 1178 During this period Mahmūd, or Shīhāb-ud-dīn Ghorī, invaded Gujarāt, but its seasoned army, led by the queen-mother, Nāikādevī, drove back the invader

About 1179 the throne of Pātan came to be occupied by Bhīma II He styled himself Abhinava Siddharāja,[8] but chroniclers have dubbed him *Bholo,* the Simpleton The feudatories revolted against his authority, but were soon suppressed by Arnorāja Vāghelā, a Chālukya of Dholka, who threw his weight on the side of his king Arnorāja's son, Lāvanyaprasāda, or Lavanaprasāda, whom Bhīma appointed a dictator,[9] followed in his father's footsteps and, with the assistance of his son Vīradhavala, consolidated the authority of Pātan Aided by Someśvara, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla he made a supreme effort to keep dissolving Gujarāt together

Both the Vāghelās, father and son, held their court at Dholka Under their strong rule, the kingdom again became powerful Except for an unsuccessful invasion in 1194 by a Muslim army headed by Kutb-ud-dīn Aibak, Gujarāt was happy In 1242 Bhīma, who had outlived three generations of viceregents, died, and Vīradhavala's son Vīsaladeva formally occupied the throne of Pātan During his vigorous reign of nineteen years, he revived

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7 cf Hertel, *Pañchatantra* (Cambridge, Mass, 1908), Preface, p xiii f, Winternitz, GIL, III, p 288f, De HSL, p 89f

8 cf Patān Grant of Bhīma II dated A D 1199 (*IA*, XI, p 71)

परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वराभिनवसिद्धराजश्रीमद्भीमदेव.।

9 cf *Lekhapaddhati* (GOS, 1925), p 25, which shows that the treaty with the Yādava king was effected between Simhana the Yādava king, on the one hand and Lāvanyaprasāda on the other, without reference to Bhīma II Lāvanyaprasāda is mentioned as महामण्डलेश्वरराणकश्रीलावण्यप्रसाद

the golden prime of Jayasimha Siddharāja, and assumed, with some justification, the dignity of Mahārājādhirāja He was the last great Hindu king of Gujarāt

On his death in c 1261, his throne was occupied by Arjuna up to c 1275 and by Sāranga from 1275 to 1296, and by Karna, popularly known as *ghelo* or crazy, from c 1297 to 1304 After Vīsaladeva's death, petty wars destroyed the power of Pātan, which soon came to rule over only a small part of North Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār In or about 1297, Ulugh Khān, the brother of Sultan Alā-ud-dīn Khiljī, occupied Pātan, sacked the temple of Somanātha and laid waste the country The end of the thirteenth century saw the end of self-governed Gujarāt

The period from c 1200 to 1250, when the great Vāghelās presided over the destinies of the country, represented half a century of great activity in the fields of both conquest and literature Lavanaprasāda, Vīradhavala, and Vīsaladeva were warriors, administrators and patrons of literature They also knew how to choose their servants well and wisely About c 1220 Vīradhavala invited the two brothers, Vastupāla and Tejahpāla, sons of a Jain merchant, Āśārāja, to become ministers of State Rich and religiously disposed, they soon proved to be great warriors and statesmen Jain, Hindu and even Muslim shrines shared their generosity They erected temples and patronised art, their temples at Ābu being monuments of Indian art Vastupāla was married to Lalitādevī, Tejahpāla to Anupadevī Both ladies assisted the ministers in their work and were held in great esteem The statesmanship and valour of the brothers gave to Gujarāt its last *Mahārājādhirāja* in Vīsaladeva Vastupāla died in c 1240, Tejahpāla in 1248 Both retained their power and the confidence of their sovereign till the last

Vastupāla was decidedly the greater of the two His personality, statesmanship, heroism and munificence evoked a chorus of literary praise Someśvara, the family priest of the royal Chālukyas, composed works in his honour, and a host of other literary men followed this

example  Many poets have been mentioned in contemporary works as being under his protection  The minister appreciated and encouraged literature  He established three libraries at a cost of eighteen crores of rupees, procured for the poets the manuscripts of literary masterpieces, and helped them in the preservation of their works [10]  The poets repaid their debt well  They gave immortality to his life and works

## IV

Someśvara (c  1179-1262) was the leading poet of Vastupāla's court  He was the family priest of the kings of Gujarāt, a direct descendant of Sola, the priest of Mūlarāja, and the grandson of Āmiga who officiated as a priest to Siddharāja  His father, Kumāra, was a physician as well, and cured Ajayapāla of his wounds  Someśvara has left two *mahākāvyas*, *Kīrtikaumudī* and *Surathotsava*, one drama, *Ullāgharāghava*, *Rāmaśataka*, and two *Praśastis*, one of which has not yet been found

*Kīrtikaumudī*, which served as a model to many contemporary *kāvyas*, had Vastupāla as its hero, and represents a further stage in the evolution of the movement which, as we saw, could be traced to Hemachandra's *Dvyāśraya*  The audience loved to look back proudly upon the time of Siddharāja and Kumārapāla, particularly as Lavanaprasāda and Vīradhavala were trying to restore Pātan to its former glory

Someśvara was an ardent admirer of Kālidāsa and looked upon *Raghuvamśa* as his model

'Kālidāsa was born a poet, and he sang Śrī Rāma's life It was a mixture of sugar and milk'[11]

Among the latter day poets, he mentioned Māgha. Bhāravi, Bāna, Dhanapāla, Bilhana, Hemachandra, Nīlakantha, Prahlādana, Narachandra, Vijayasena, Subhata,

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10 Cf *Naranārāyanānanda* (GOS, 1916), intr pp vii-viii

11 *KK*, 1 12

कालिदासः कविजर्तिः श्रीरामचरितस्य यत् ।
स एष शर्करायोग· पयसः समपद्यत ॥१२॥

Yaśovīra and Vastupāla, the last six of these were his contemporaries

The poet describes the city of Pātan 'the house of Śrī', its fort and its gardens where damsels came to play, the chants of its Brāhmanas, the songs of its women, the eulogies of its bards, its houses which were white as snow, its palaces in which luxury reigned, and the sacrificial smoke which, like the Yamunā, rose skywards to join the heavenly Gangā The city outshone all the cities of traditional fame The poet then describes the river, the temples comparable to the Himālaya, the banners of the temples 'so high as to protect even Aruna, the Sun's charioteer, from his master's fiery rays', the roads crowded with elephants and horses The women also come in for their share of praise

> 'Wherever the women move, undulating with grace, the eyes of the gallants follow like their maid-servants Those who are looked at by the women with sidelong glances, are smitten by the god of love, who, though bodiless, assumes a body Here, Brahmā created women of matchless beauty, and yet their beauty was matched by its reflection in the bejewelled wall '[12]

In canto II the poet gives a short history of the kings of Pātan, beginning with Mūlarāja Siddharāja is rightly given the central place Lavanaprasāda's dream is then described Gurjara Rājyalakshmī, the royal dignity of Gurjara, appears to him, 'a goddess in the very image of a full-moon night, her face white as the moon, a white mark on her face, in white clothes, a white garland in her hand '[13] She laments the downfall of Pātan, weeps over her vanished glory and departed heroes

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12 *KK*, I 68-70

यत्र यत्र प्रसर्पन्ति सलीलं यन्मृगीदृश ।
दासीव दृष्टिरन्वेति तत्र तत्र विलासिनाम् ॥६८॥
वीक्षिता वलितग्रीवं तन्वीभिर्यत्र केऽपि ये ।
मन्ये व्यावर्तितागेन तेऽनङ्गेनापि ताडिता ॥६९॥
रूपेणाप्रतिमा कांता यत्र धात्रा कृता. किल ।
तथापि प्रतिमास्तासा सजाता रत्नभित्तिष ॥७०॥

13 *KK*, II 89-90

तावत्पुर· कामपि वामनेत्रा राकामिवाऽऽकारवतीमपश्यम् ॥८९॥
श्वेताशुतुल्यं वदनं वहन्तीं श्वेतांशुका श्वेतविलेपनां ताम् ।
श्वेतां कराग्रे दधतीं च मालामालोक्य बालामतिविस्मितोऽस्मि ॥९०॥

> 'Here darkness was unknown, for the scions of the line of Mūlarāja spread their lights all around But now a light was not to be found even at night In the city, which once resounded with drums at night, only the howl of jackals is now heard Then, the lake bloomed with the lotus-faces of young damsels, now, it helplessly sheds tear-drops as the wind blows over it '[14]

She exhorts Lavanaprasāda to win back her departed glory

The dream vanishes, and the hero sends for his son, and his priest, the poet The poet explains the meaning of the dream and recommends the appointment of a good minister

In canto III, the family of Vastupāla comes in for a highly eulogistic tribute The king appoints Vastupāla as his minister (canto IV) The minister takes charge of Khambhāt and is faced with an invasion from the South Śankha, king of Lāta, also sends a message threatening to march on the city (canto V) The poet then deals with Vastupāla's war with Śankha and celebrates his patron's victory in high-flown phrase (canto VI) He sings the beauties of Khambhāt in the traditional manner of *kāvyas* and narrates Vastupāla's conversation with his poets (canto VII) Then follows a description of moon-rise (canto VIII), of the daily life of the minister and (canto IX), of his pilgrimage to Śatruñjaya, Girnār and Prabhāsa

Someśvara's diction has both grace and lucidity When he has something new to say, he rises above the wearisome and degenerate imitation of classic models The *Kāvya* had become rigid and lifeless The decadent taste of the pandits perpetuated the bondage of conventions as to form, style and expression which were no longer living interpretations of life and, like all worn-out conventions,

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14 *KK*, II 101-3

या मूलराजान्वयजातराजतेजोभिरासीद् विरमत्तमस्का ।
निशागमे साम्प्रतमुद्वसाया तस्या न दीपोऽपि नरेन्द्रपुर्याम् ॥१०१॥
निरन्तर सञ्चरता गजाना या डिण्डिमैरुड्डमरा ध्वनद्भि ।
एकाकिनी रात्रिषु गर्जराणा सा पूत्करोतीव शिवारुतैः पूः ॥१०२॥
क्रीडावतीना नगराङगनाना वक्त्रै सदा यत्र सरोजसत्ता ।
सरस्तदश्रूणि किरत्यनाथ वातास्तपाथ कणकैतवेन ॥१०३॥

they stifled the soul that accepted them From the historical point of view the work is invaluable The author had first-hand knowledge of events connected with the Chālukya kings, and was free from any propagandist zeal In the first three cantos he sets men and events in a fairly accurate perspective, and is a fairly reliable guide for correcting the faulty perspective of Jain works

His next *Mahākāvya*, *Surathotsava*, deals with the episode, from the *Mārkandeya Purāna*, of king Suratha who reconquered his lost kingdom by the favour of the goddess Chandī His drama *Ullāgharāghava*, in eight acts, is based on the *Rāmāyana* It was performed before the temple of Śrī Krishna at Dvārakā The author introduces fine sentiments and incidents into the drama to retouch the character of Rāma The modesty of Rāma, for instance, is represented with skill in the stanza which he addresses to his father when people celebrate his victory over Paraśurāma

> "As prescribed by destiny, I broke the old bow of Sankara Renukā's son (Parasurāma) conceded to me a great deal in the field of battle, treating me as a child But the people regard my breaking the bow as due to my valour only out of their affection for me You must, therefore, stop them from doing so It is improper to treat the great with contempt without reason "[15]

## V

Prahlādana, whom Someśvara describes as 'the born son of Sarasvatī and the husband of Jayaśrī, the goddess of victory',[16] was a younger brother of Dhārāvarsha, the Paramāra ruler of Chandrāvatī, and lived between 1164

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15 *Ullāgharāghava*

भग्न जीर्णं त्रिनयनधनुर्यन्मया दैवयोगा-
द्वत्ससोढ· शिशुरिति रणे रैणुकेयेन चाहम् ।
लोक. प्रीत्या तदपि किल मे पौरुषं भाषमाणे
वार्य. कार्या न खलु महतां गर्हणां निर्निमित्तम् ॥

16 *KK*, 1 20

श्रीप्रह्लादनदेवोऽभूद् द्वितयेन प्रसिद्धिमान् ।
पुत्रत्वेन सरस्वत्या पतित्वेन जयश्रियः ॥२०॥

and 1200 He was reputed to be versed in different philosophies He was a warrior and founded the city Prahlādanpura, modern Pālanpur Of his works, only *Pārthaparākrama*, a drama of the *vyāyoga* type (military spectacle), and a few verses have come to light This one-act drama, exhibiting *dīpta rasa* or the sentiment of excitement, is based on the incident in the *Mahābhārata* of Arjuna recovering the cows of King Virāta from the Kauravas

Vastupāla himself, under the name of Vasantapāla conferred upon him by Someśvara and other poets, has left a *mahākāvya*, called *Naranārāyanānanda*, in sixteen cantos dealing with the episode of Arjuna eloping with Subhadrā, Śrī Krishna's sister Coming as it did from so great a man and so generous a patron of poets, it naturally evoked great contemporary praise According to *Alamkāramahodadhi*, it improved upon Vyāsa's language,[17] and not to be outdone, Someśvara called the minister the adopted son of Sarasvatī [18] Merutunga called him a *Mahākavi* [19] His fame travelled even outside Gujarāt But the poem is a mechanical product of the literary conventions which were in vogue all over the country Pompous *kāvyas* without true poetic inspiration or direct touch with reality were turned out in that age like factory-made articles

Arisimha's *Sukritasamkīrtana* is a *kāvya* modelled on *Kīrtikaumudī*, but composed with less poetic skill Bālachandra's *Vasantavilāsa* is the third and the largest *mahākāvya* on Vastupāla, and follows the same example both in matter and style In this poem, the presiding deity of

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17 *Alamkāramahodadhi* (GOS, 1942), I 12

काव्यकलाऽपि कोमलयति द्वैपायनीय वच ।

18 *KK*, I 29, *Naranārāyanānanda*, XVI, 40

वस्तुपाल–यशोवीरौ सत्य वाग्देवतासुतौ ।
एको दानस्वभावोऽभूदुभयोरन्यथा कथम् ॥१ २९॥
नरनारायणानन्दो नाम कन्दो मुदामिदम् ।
तेन तेन महाकाव्य वाग्देवीधर्मसूनुना ॥१६ ४०॥

19 *PC*, p 105

इत्यादीनि श्रीवस्तुपालमहाकवे काव्यानि स्वय कृतान्यमूनि ।

the kingdom appears in a dream to Vīradhavala, and the conventional descriptions follow with mechanical precision

The messenger from Śankha who advises Vastupāla to flee adds that no one will feel disgraced by the flight of a *bania* The minister gives an apt reply

> "Messenger, it is a delusion to think that Kshatriyas alone can fight, and not a *Vanik* Did not Ambaḍa, a *Vanik*, kill Mallikārjuna in battle? I, a *Vanik*, am well-known in the shop of the battlefield I buy commodities—the heads of enemies—weighing them in the scales of swords, I pay the price in the form of Heaven"[20]

And Vastupāla proved as good as his word

Jayasimha, a Jain *sādhu*, while living at the temple of Munisuvrata of Bhrigukachchha between 1222 and 1236 composed *Hammīra-madamardana*, a play, in which is celebrated the victory obtained by Vīradhavala with the aid of Vastupāla over the forces of some Muslim invader The play was written to please Jayantasimha, son of Vastupāla, and was performed at the festival of the procession of Bhīmeśvara of Khambhāt[21] It furnishes some historical information about the event and the times, but is very inferior in style and technique to the dramas of Yaśahpāla, Rāmachandra and Someśvara There is no individuality in the characters, no plot and no movement The style is highly affected even if judged by the standard of his contemporaries, and the author's unbounded delight in long compounds takes away whatever little charm its perusal might otherwise afford The mutual adulation in which Vīradhavala and Vastupāla indulge at every step is unusual even for an age given to unqualified panegyrics

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20 *Vasantavilāsa* (GOS, 1917), p 43-4

क्षत्रियः समरकेलिरहस्य जानते न वणिजो भ्रम एष.।
अम्बडो वणिगपि प्रधने किं मल्लिकार्जुननृप न जघान ।।४३।।
दूत रे वणिगह रणहट्टे विश्रुतोऽसितुलया कलयामि।
मौलिभाण्डपटलानि रिपूणा स्वर्गवेतनमयी वितरामि ।।४४।।

21 *Hammīramadamardana* (GOS, 1920), p 1

श्रीभीमेश्वरस्य यात्राया.. समस्तसचिववास्तोष्पत्तिश्रीवस्तुपाल-कुलकाननकेलिसिंहेन श्रीमता जयन्तसिंहेन समादिष्टोऽस्मि...।

Gujarāt is menaced by Turushka Hammīra aided by the Yādava Simhana, who can also rely upon the assistance of Samgrāma, nephew of the king of Lāta. In Act I, Vastupāla advises Vīradhavala to secure the aid of the kings of Mārwār. Vastupāla's spies run to and fro between the warring kings. One of them induces Samgrāma to flee, and the minister some time later enters into a treaty with him. Mārwār is destroyed by the invading Mlechchha, Mīlachchhrīkāra, who, however, retreats at the approach of Vīradhavala. The diplomacy of Vastupāla surrounds the invader with many difficulties, and he is defeated by Vīradhavala. Finally, the king goes to the temple of Śiva, where the god grants a boon to the king. If the minister is properly delineated in his drama he was an astute diplomat rather than the heroic statesman described by the exuberant Someśvara. The *Vastupālatejahpāla-praśasti* of the poet follows *Kīrtikaumudī* both in form and substance.

Udayaprabha, the preceptor of Vastupāla, composed *Sanghādhipati Charita*, a *mahākāvya*, on the pilgrimage of Vastupāla, and *Sukritakīrtikallolinī* a *kāvya* of the usual type. The author has a better style than Jayasimha. A Brāhmana poet Subhata, has left a play called *Dūtāngada*. Its merits do not justify the praise which Someśvara, in his usual vein, showers on its author.[22] Śrīpāla's grandson, Vijayapāla, has left a drama, *Draupadīsvayamvara*, and Amarachandra, among other works, a summary of the *Mahabharata* called *Bālabhāratakāvya*.

A few scientific works may be briefly noticed here. The versatile Hemachandra wrote *Nighantuśesha*, a dictionary of medical terms. In the twelfth century, we come across a great Gujarātī physician, Soddhala, a Rāikwāl Brāhmana. His works, *Gunasamgraha* and *Gadanigraha* are considered to be of exceptional merit. The thirteenth century saw the works of two more physicians

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22 *KK*, I 24

सुभटेन पदन्यासः स कोऽपि समितौ कृतः ।
येनाधुनाऽपि धीराणां रोमाञ्चो नापचीयते ॥२४॥

of eminence, Govindāchārya, a Modha Brāhmana, and Yaśodhara, a Śrīgauḍa Brāhmana [23]

Literature, judged from a proper artistic standard, was very poor and lifeless indeed In this age, the authors had before them for their model either Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* or Bāna's *Kādambarī,* and looked to Kālidāsa as the ultimate source of their inspiration But their style was wooden and often incorrect Their fancy, unlike Kālidāsa's, was either fettered by conventional *alamkāras* and modes of expression, or performed unmeaning acrobatics which never add any beauty to the picture Characterisation as a literary effort began and ended with a mechanical weaving of classical myths or contemporary episodes into works devoid of interest and characterised by extravagance of thought and expression Poetry is a revelation, and these poets, tied to the apron strings of their masters, had nothing to reveal They had no ideas to convey, no social life to depict, no deeper interpretation to offer

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23 cf Durgashanker Ṣastri, "Gujarātnun Vaidyaka Sāhitya", *Sāhitya P Report,* Vol V

## CHAPTER VII

# A RETROSPECT OF THE PERIOD

Gurjaradesa—The activities of the people—Social Life—Śaivism—Vaishnavism—Philosophic influences—Jainism—Gujarāt one with Āryāvarta—Its activities—Āryan Culture—Its Literature and life—The premature close of the period

ON the death of Vīsaladeva in 1262 the brilliant period in the history of Gujarāt, which began with Jayasimha in 1094, came to an end During this period, Sārasvata Mandala or the Sarasvatī valley which before 950 formed part of the old empire of Gurjaratrā or Gurjaradeśa became a centre of power and, with Ānarta, Lāta, Saurāshtra, Kachchha and part of north Konkana, was consolidated into one political and cultural entity under the name of Gurjarabhūmi or Gurjaradeśa The Chālukya kings of Pātan with their triumphant arms raided diverse parts of India and succeeded in founding a powerful kingdom For over a century they successfully repulsed the invading Muslims

## I

A new age was born with the conquest of Anahilavāda by Mūlarāja in 942 and new factors emerged which led to the foundation of Gujarāt

1 Till 940 the region now known as Gujarāt was a part of the empire of the Gurjara emperors whose capital was Kānyakubja or Kalyānakataka

2 Till about 1050 a considerable part of Gujarāt was part of a kingdom ruled by the Paramāra emperors from their capital, Dhārā, and except, perhaps, for a part of the Ābu region, no other part of Gujarāt was called Gurjarabhūmi, or Gurjaradeśa

3. Till then the word Guzrāt or Gurjaratrā was applied to a region which now forms part of the modern

states of Jodhpur and Jaıpur and ıts capıtal was Bazâna or Nārāyana, modern Narāna ın the Jaıpur State [1]

4 After 1050, Bhīmadeva Chālukya, the ruler of the Sārasvata Mandala, on the break-up of the Paramāra empıre, consolıdated some parts of modern Gujarāt ınto a compact kıngdom, whıch was called Gurjaradeśa or Gurjarabhūmı

5 Only ın 1120 Jayasımha made Anahılavāda Paṭṭana the capıtal of a powerful and prosperous kıngdom consistıng of modern Gujarāt, Rājputāna and Mālwā

6 The word Gurjarabhūmı or Gujarāt came to be applıed progressıvely over such parts of the regıon as came under the sway of the Chālukya kıngs of Anahılavāda Pattana, as the founder of the house Mūlarāja had adopted the famıly tıtle of Gurjareśvara, eıther by reason of hıs beıng a descendant of the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperors, or he or hıs father beıng a feudatory chıef of Gurjaratrā

7 Tıll the conquest of Pātan by Alā-ud-dın Khılji ın 1299 the lıterary languages of the regıon were the same as ın Rājputāna and Mālwā, the dıalects of each beıng dıfferent

8 A dıstınctıve group-consciousness as applıed to modern Gujarāt came ınto exıstence ın the second quarter of the twelfth century when, under Jayasımha Chālukya, Gujarāt acquıred the tradıtıon of power and strength, and the lıterary men at hıs court gave thıs same consciousness a definıte shape ın theır lıterary works

9 It was, however, only on the foundatıon of the Sultanate of Gujarāt, ın c 1299, that modern Gujarāt developed dıstınct polıtıcal and cultural tendencıes by reason of ıts havıng succumbed to the Muslım raıds and, ın consequence, the exchange of lıterary and cultural ıdeas wıth Rājputāna and Mālwā havıng become dıfficult As a result the ways of lıfe ın Gujarāt became markedly dıfferent and the dıalects of dıfferent regıons developed ınto separate lıterary languages, Old Gujarātī as a dıstınct variety of Western Rājasthānī emergıng as a separate language of Gujarāt

1 *HIED*, I p 58f

## II

During this period, the maritime activity of Gujarāt was at its highest, its merchants being as enterprising as its kings Large parts of the country were brought under cultivation Cities sprang up in different places The country grew fabulously rich

The social progress of the people continued unchecked The cultural and powerful communities of Rājputāna and Mālwā came and settled in the country All of them found an honourable place in the existing social system, and enjoyed social autonomy Several of them, like the Osvāls, the Porvāds and the Śrīmālī, attained eminence both in the society and the state Brāhmanas from different parts of the country also came and settled here

The same characteristics of the people to which we have referred earlier, continued to distinguish them throughout this period There were equal opportunities of advancement for high and low, more so here than in any other part of the country A striking example of this feature is provided by the Jains, who slowly attained a status as high as that of the Brāhmanas in learning and politics, and as that of the Kshatriyas in war The *sādhus* contested the Brahmanical superiority in matters cultural, though they never came near overthrowing it They were ardent students, prolific writers, and indefatigable preachers of ethical principles especially of *ahimsā* They opened the doors of learning to many for whom they would otherwise have remained closed Someśvara, a Brāhmana. Prahlādana, a Paramāra Rājput, and Jain *sādhus* like Jayasimha, had, irrespective of their differing communities, a common literary training, tradition and ambition A *Modha Vanik*, Hemachandra, was the greatest scholar of the age

The absence of a rigid religious basis for society made the absorption or tolerance of foreign elements in the social organism easy The Magi of Persia became the Maga Brāhmanas On more than one occasion, Muslims were converted to Hinduism and were absorbed Fugitives from Persia found a home in Gujarāt Muslim traders and

mercenaries from several parts of Asia and Africa came and settled in the country, and lived peacefully with their neighbours

Gujarāt maintained its catholic traditions throughout this whole period The social structure does not appear to have been very rigid Caste was not so hidebound as at a later period, and inter-marriages were very frequent Re-marriage of widows was not banned Adult marriage appears to have been the rule The people on the whole were spirited and happy, and for the times, cultured Under the strong rule of Pātan, they became united and powerful and the name Gurjaradeśa, adopted for the country from its kings, gave them conscious unity The various communities began to live a uniform life, and their culture acquired an individuality of its own The ancient Aryan colonies were thus inspired by a tradition and a cultural self-consciousness peculiarly their own Gujarāt was born

## III

Gujarāt, during the whole of this period, was predominantly Śaiva The whole land even today is studded with temples of Śiva or their ruins, many of which date back to the pre-Chālukyan age The rulers of Valabhīpura, except for one king, were devotees of Śiva, and styled themselves '*paramamāheśvara*' Their seals bear the impress of the bull sacred to their god Somanātha The temple of Somanātha had attained its high position as an all-India shrine under the Valabhī kings The Chālukyas, as we saw, recognised in Somanātha their guardian deity, and so did a large number of chiefs during the whole period under review

The Brāhmanas of Vadnagar, who came to be called Nāgaras, possessed high Brahmanical learning and were devotees of Śiva The family priest of the Chālukyas and Vāghelās was a Brāhmana of Vadnagar Many of them were statesmen, warriors and officers as also priests and literary men Many of the inscriptions of the period were written by them and their influence was considerable

The most influential form of Śaivism was the Pāśupata cult, founded by Lakulīśa who was born at Kāravana a few miles south of Baroda, and worshipped as the eighteenth incarnation of Śiva [2] The shrine of Somanātha was in the charge of priests of this cult who had a high reputation for learning

The worship of Vishnu, the Bhāgavata Dharma, introduced during the Gupta period, was favoured by a small section of the people We find a temple dedicated to Krishna at Girnār in 455. Ruins of a large number of such temples, erected during the period and dedicated to one or other of the incarnations of Vishnu, are found in North Gujarāt Hemachandra testifies to the existence of a temple of Vishnu in Pātan An inscription of 1074 begins with *'Om Namo Bhagavate Vāsudevāya'* Hemachandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana,* cites two verses indicating the popular Krishna cult of the time

> "Mother, Krishna, while at play, ate as much earth as he could" "Is it true, Krishna?" "Who said it?" "Baladeva" "He is telling a lie Look into my mouth" "Open Let me

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2 cf Buhler, "Cintra Prasasti of the reign of Sārangadeva", *EI,* I pp 271-87 (st 14-17), *CPSI,* p 70, Bhandarkar, "An Eklingji Stone Inscription", *JBBRAS,* XXII, pp 151-67, *Linga P* 24 124-33, *Vāyu P*, 23 217-25

भट्टारकश्रीलकुलीशमूर्त्या तप क्रियाकाडफलप्रदाता ।
अवातरद्विश्वमनुग्रहीतु देव. स्वय बालमृगाङ्कमौलि ॥

(Cintra Prasasti, st 14)

अनुग्रहीतु च चिर विपुत्रकानुलूकभूतानभिशापतः पितु. ।
ललाटमुर्व्या इव लाटभूषण समेत्य कारोहणमध्युवास य. ॥

(ib, st 15)

अवतेरुश्चत्वार पाशुपतव्रतविशेषचर्यार्थं ।
इह कुशिकगार्ग्यकौरुषमैत्रेया इति तदतसद ॥

(ib, st 16)

ततस्तपस्विना तेषा चतुर्द्धा जातिरु द्गता ।
भुव विभूषयामास चतुरर्णवमुद्रिता ॥

(ib, st 17)

भविष्यामि तदा ब्रह्मन् लकुली नाम नामत· ॥ लिङ्ग, २४.१२९ ॥
कायावतार इत्येव सिद्धक्षेत्र च वै तदा । १३० ।

see" The mother saw the whole universe in the mouth of the child and was surprised May this Kesava protect you[3]

"The dark beauty of the child Krishna was reflected on Rādhā's breasts, shining as gold pots Believing the reflection to be a dark cloth, Krishna again and again attempted to remove it Seeing this, Rādhā smiled and Krishna himself was ashamed of his surprising mistake, and smiled May this Krishna be victorious"[4]

Someśvara in his *Kīrtikaūmudī*, bears testimony to the fact that the Jain Vastupāla worshipped both Śankara and Keśava,[5] and, in *Surathotsava*, refers to the love of Rādhā and Krishna Vīradhavala dedicated a temple to Vīranārāyana

Gujarāt did not offer a good field for the intellectual activities which kept busy the great schools of Indian learning in other provinces In the ninth century, Śankarāchārya no doubt exerted a powerful Vedāntic influence over the Brāhmanas, who exercised the old popular cult like Pāśupata of its fierce rituals Rāmānuja, Madhva, Nimbārka and other scholars of less renown frequently passed through Gujarāt, which served as a corridor linking north and south, but none of them left any lasting centre of activity The influence they exerted was just

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3 *HK*, I P 120

कृष्णेनाम्ब गतेन रन्तुमधुना मृद्भक्षिता स्वेच्छया
सत्य कृष्ण क एवमाह मुसली मिथ्याम्ब पश्याननम् ।
व्यादेहीति विकासिते शिशुमुखे माता समस्त जगद्-
दृष्ट्वा यस्य जगाम विस्मयपद पायात्स व· केशव ।

4 *op cit I*, p 115

कनकलशस्वच्छे राधापयोधरमण्डले
नवजलधरश्यामामात्मद्युतिं प्रतिबिम्बिताम् ।
असितसिचयप्रान्तभ्रान्त्या मुहुर्मुहुरुत्क्षिप-
ज्जयति जनितव्रीडाहास· प्रियाहसितो हरि· ॥

5 cf *KK*, IV 40

नानर्च भक्तिमान्नेमौ नेमौ शकरकेशवौ ॥
जैनोऽपि य सवेदाना दानाम्भः कुरुते करे ॥

enough to give Gujarāt a new religious sect and make it more catholic and tolerant

When Mūlarāja came to the throne of Pātan, Buddhism had long disappeared, and Jainism had no important following, the statements of Jain authors to the contrary notwithstanding But the immigration of the Osvāls, Porvāds and other important communities gave Jainism an important position During the three centuries under review, the whole of Gujarāt came to be adorned with beautiful temples erected by this small but wealthy community It was left to Hemachandra to secure for his sect that position of dignity which till then was only reserved for the Brāhmanas The Jain *sādhus* spread an atmosphere which made for non-violence, social equality and such social purity as abstention from meat, drink and gambling could bring

## IV

Though the local pride of Gujarāt had altered the outlook on life and evolved Gujarāt consciousness, it would be erroneous to infer that Gurjaradeśa had become a separate country in any sense Throughout the whole period, in language and culture, it was one with Mārwār, Mālwā and Rājputāna Ujjayinī and Mathurā continued actively to influence it The forces making for Indian unity which were at work at the end of the Gupta period, still ruled The only important fact to be noted, however, was that Pātan had become the most powerful city in the whole area, attracting not only power and heroism, but learning art and culture

Gujarāt had an art of its own, inherited from the art of old Gurjaradeśa Muslim invaders have destroyed all but a few of the noble temples which that art had reared, but the superb art of the temples at Mt Ābu and of the ruins at Modhera and other places had its rival at few other places in India Solana, the architect of Vastupāla's temples at Ābu, may be justly ranked as one of the world's greatest artists

Gujarāt had great libraries in Jain and Pāśupata monasteries The Jain works, composed during the period, are numerous, and indicate the great intellectual activity of this sect The works of the Brāhmanas which have come down to us, few though they are, also indicate an equally intensive activity

Sanskrit was the language of the court and culture It made the contact of Pātan with the culture of the country real In fact, it made Gujarāt only a constituent of a great cultural unit It strengthened and inspired all influences which, even as they slowly percolated to the lower strata of life, maintained intact the spirit and the form of Aryan life The influence of the Epics, the Purānas, the Smritis, and of classical works like those of Kālidāsa, entered deep into men's life, making ancient India a living model for the present During the time of Kumārapāla, we find a short-lived experiment of introducing the ethical principles of *ahimsā* in the actual governance of the State The spread of this doctrine resulted in making life more tolerant, gentle and pure Great in war and peace, Gujarāt was no less great in its expression of the spirit of Aryan culture through the life of its people

Sanskrit literature was assiduously cultivated Someśvara was a poet and a man of letters He had his literary inspiration from Kālidāsa and Māgha That Vastupāla should have spent his leisure in composing a *mahākāvya*, and Prahlādana in composing a *vyāyoga* (martial drama), shows how literary traditions dominated statesmen and warriors No doubt literary inspiration, on account of the artificial tendencies of the age, lacked vitality *Kāvyas* had lost in dignity and self-restraint, and could ill conceal the motive which underlay the courtier-poet's literary efforts But one noteworthy feature distinguished this literature from that which was to follow It had the thrill of an age which knew heroism, its outlook on literature was neither morbid, nor other-worldly The Apabhramśa and the Old Gujarātī literatures provide ample

evidence to show that life was not only heroic, but joyous and free

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But a calamity, in its destructiveness more terrible than a cataclysm of Nature, suddenly brought this period to an abrupt end In 1299 Muslim invaders laid waste the country and destroyed the strength, the learning, and the glory of Gujarāt

# PART II

## CHAPTER I

# A CENTURY OF CHAOS OLD GUJARĀTĪ AND ITS EARLY LITERATURE (1297-1400)

The Khalji occupation—The migrations—The waning influence of Sanskrit—Early literature in *desabhāshā,* Old Gujarātī—Literature in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries—The evolution of the language—Folksongs and *rāsa* dance—The desī tunes—*Rāsa* as a literary composition *Phāga* poems—*Nemināthachatushpadikā* (1269) — Somasundar (1374 1446) — *Rangasāgara Nemiphāga*—*Phāgu* by Natarshi (1439)—Prose—Tarunaprabha (1355)—*Prithvīchandracharitr* (1422)—Legends of Hemachandra — *Prabandhachintāmani* — Note A Gujarātī —Note B Evolution of Old Gujarātī

WITH the death of Vīsaladeva in 1261, the glory of Gujarāt departed, and a period of unsettled existence was followed by a century (1300-1400) of catastrophic events, which changed the face of the whole country

In 1299 Ulugh Khān, the brother of Allā-ud-dīn, invaded Gujarāt, and captured Anahilavāda Pātana, which thenceforward became a permanent camp of the army of occupation The viceroys of the Sultans of Delhi sallied forth from it, now and again, to plunder, to destroy, and to carry fire and sword in every direction Most of the tributary kings and grandees who had made the court of the great Vāghelā so illustrious were either put to death or forced to embrace Islam Some stood their ground and continued to fight with grim despair

Soon, however, the viceroys rebelled against the authority of Delhi, and the *amirs,* in their turn, against the authority of the viceroys, and, in consequence, confusion prevailed everywhere Occasionally, the imperial presence supported by a strong army was required to bring a recalcitrant viceroy to his senses Ultimately in 1391, Zafar Khān, son of a Rajput convert, was sent by Mahmūd Shah II to Gujarāt to bring to book Farhat-ul-Mulk, the governor of the province Zafar Khān spread carnage wherever he went He defeated the governor, but having conquered the country, elevated his son Mahmūd to the

sultanate of Gujarāt When Mahmūd died in 1403, Zafar Khān, with the title of Muzaffar Shah, ruled Gujarāt for a few years On his death in 1411, his grandson Ahmed Shah succeeded him and transferred the capital to the new town built on the site of Āsāwal, which he named Ahmedābād after himself

I

Before Allā-ud-dīn's invasion Gujarāt was very prosperous "Besides Cambay, the most celebrated of the cities of Hind in population and wealth," records a foreign traveller, "there are 70,000 towns and villages, all populous, and the people abounding in wealth and luxuries "[1] But during the following century, Gujarāt received neither respite nor mercy from the invaders Her shrines were desecrated, her wealth was plundered, her women were violated or kidnapped Forcible conversion was the mildest alternative offered by the invader to the children of the soil Men, women and children were sold as slaves People migrated from place to place in vain search of security Many castes, like the Khaḍāyatās, Nāgaras, Jhārolās and Modhas, now settled in different parts of Gujarāt, bear the names of the towns of North Gujarāt from which they fled at this time Priests, poets, and *sādhus* sought refuge in obscure villages, placing themselves beyond the reach of the ruthless destroyer All that the terrified people could do was to lock up their women-folk indoors, and to barricade their world behind the bulwarks of caste, *panchāyat*, and *mahājan*

The Turkish conquest of India brought about a revolutionary change After twelve centuries, royal patronage was withdrawn from Sanskrit wherever the arms of Delhi or its viceroys conquered Universities which maintained their tradition under royal patronage, were dissolved for want of support Many pandits fled to distant places and took to the life of a recluse The race of poets disappeared Devout Brāhmanas turned for support to their poverty-stricken followers in small towns and villages, and assumed the obscure rôle of family priests or *purāniks*

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1 BG Vol I 287 n

What was said of the sixteenth century in France could be said of this period as well The men whose thoughts were worth preserving did not know how to write, and the men who cultivated the literary art did not think it needful that they should have any thoughts to express

## II

Learning sought popular support through the medium of Gurjara bhāshā, or Gujarātī, which was the spoken language of the people since the eleventh century [2] Bilhana, the author of *Vikramānkadevacharita* (1088), evidently referred to it when he ridiculed Gurjaras for their incorrect speech[3], and, possibly, Hemachandra had it in mind too when, in *Kāvyānuśāsana,* he mentioned the *grāmya* or vulgar variety possessing literature of its own as distinguished from Apabhramśa proper [4] Its earliest available literature, which dates back to the twelfth century, clearly indicates pre-existing literature

From the beginning Gujarāti was distinct from Apabhramśa For instance, many of its words were not derived from corresponding words in the older language, and its structure was fundamentally different Under conditions created by the invasion and rule of the Muslim, it continued to evolve in unbroken continuity till the middle of the nineteenth century, when factors arising from the contact with the West introduced new elements in it It may, however, for convenience be divided into Old Gujarātī (1100-1850) and Modern Gujarātī

## III

The characteristics of old Gujarātī —

I Sanskrit, Prākrit and Apabhramśa belong to the class of languages known as synthetic, while Early Guja-

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2 Vide Note A at the end of the Chapter

3. कक्षाबन्ध विदधति न ये सर्वदैवाविशुद्धा—
स्तद्भाषन्ते किमपि भजते यद् जुगुप्सास्पदत्वम्।
तेषा मार्गे परिचयवशादर्जित गुर्जराणा
य· सताप शिथिलमकरोत् सोमनाथ विलोक्य॥

4 तत्र प्रायः सस्कृतप्राकृतापभ्र शग्राम्यभाषानिबद्ध महाकाव्यम्।
......ग्राम्यापभ्र शभाषानिबद्धावस्कन्धकबन्ध भीमकाव्यादि।

rātī from the beginning, exhibits a progressively pronounced tendency to become analytic and drop the inflections

II Early Gujarātī develops a phonetic change by which a double consonant is simplified and the preceding vowel lengthened This must have been the result of a change of accent

III. The indistinctly pronounced vowel at the beginning of a word is dropped in Early Gujarātī

IV A definite tendency to replace the Apabhramśa form of words by its Sanskrit equivalent comes into existence, indicating that Early Gujarātī was developing into a literary language in supersession of earlier literary media

V About 1350 छइ begins to be used as an auxiliary verb, and the Middle Gujarātī begins

VI After 1500, as Gujarāt had become a separate kingdom and Pātana was no longer a literary centre for Gujarāt as well as Rājputānā, its language began to develop new features thereabout and assumed its present shape about 1650[5]

The available literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in Old Gujarātī includes the following typical works

(1) *Bharateśvarabāhubali rāsa* by Śālibhadra (1185),

(2) *Jambūsvāmicharita* by Mahendra (1210),

(3) *Revantagirirāsa* by Vijayasena, a preceptor of Vastupāla (c 1231),

(4) *Nemināthachatushpadikā* by Vinayachandra ((c 1269),

(5) *Ārādhanā,* a prose note on palm leaf (1274),

(6) *Bālaśikshā* by Samgrāmasimha (1280)

Many *rāsas* and prose stories of the fourteenth century are available But the works valuable for appreciating the change in the language are

(7) *Pratikramanabālāvabodha* by Tarunaprabha (1355), and,

(8) *Mugdhāvabodha,* a text-book of Sanskrit grammar with explanations in Old Gujarātī by Kulamanḍana (1394)

About the same time, flourished Somasundar (1374-1446),—a very important author in the language

5 Vide Note A at the end of the Chapter.

## IV

The earliest folk literature of the Indo-Aryans was associated with the dance called *rāsa* Men and women, singing folk-songs, mostly of an erotic character, moved in circles to the accompaniment of appropriate rhythmic movements Sometimes men alone, very often women by themselves, danced the *rāsa* Mathurā was its early home, and long before the Christian era it came to be associated with Śrī Krishna, who was believed to have invented it The Vrishnis, the Sātvatas and the Ābhīras, all nomadic tribes, were the first to worship the cowherd hero and invest the *rāsa* with a semi-religious significance

The *rāsa* produced the early lyrics of the Madhyadeśa, the dialect of which was the Śaurasenī Prākrit It also gave birth to folk-tunes which could be sung accompanied by dancing and rhythmic movements, and predominantly influenced, if it did not create, the Sanskrit drama Śrī Krishna, the hero of the *rāsa* dance, the naughty cowherd boy, the ardent lover, a god of love more fascinating than Madana himself, became the centre of erotic sentiment and terminology, and popular imagination found for him a lovely bride in Rādhā

Bhāsa (before 2nd Century B.C ) in his drama *Bālacharita* describes the *hallīsaka* dance of Śrī Krishna with the *gopīs* In the early centuries of the Christian era, there was considerable folk literature of which the Tamil classic *Śilappadikāram* provides a valuable specimen It revolves round the theme of Śrī Krishna (Māyavan) dancing eleven kinds of dances with his consort Nappinnai (Rādhā) in the hall of the Cowherds [6] Nappinnai is also referred to as Nīlā, a sister of Śrīdāma

*Harivamśa* refers to the *hallīsaka* dance of Śrī Krishna [7] *Bhāgavata* gives a poetic description of the *Rāsa*[8] which therefore came to be associated with Śrī Krishna The *Brahma Purāna* gives a longer version, and the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna* a still longer one with Rādhā as the

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6 V R Ramachandra Dikshitar, *IC, IV*, pp 267-71
7 Vishnuparva Adhyāya 20
8 *Bhāgavata P*, X 29-33

heroine, and several *gopīs* with specified names as her companions [9]

*Rāsa* also gave the people their principal festive institution It formed the basis of *yātrā,* a kind of drama staged by amateurs at fairs and religious festivities, which persisted in spite of the disappearance of the regular drama Later, itinerant parties of dancers, male and female, travelled from place to place staging *rāsalīlā* The spring festival of *Holī* resembling the May-Day merriment of Old England, and Madana Utsava or Dolā Utsava, a festival in honour of the god of love, also provided occasions for *rāsa*

Women of Gujarāt from early times have made *rāsa,* under the name of *garabo,* a special feature of many festive occasions, particularly during the first ten days of the month of Āśvin sacred to the goddess Ambā On such occasions, women of different localities gather together and dance in a circle around a burning lamp placed in the centre of an earthern jar, or *garabo,* singing love lyrics set to popular tunes, and, as they do so, they keep time by clap of hands and with their feet This is pre-eminently a Gujarātī institution Śārngadhara (c 1200), in *Samgīta-ratnākara,* records the tradition that the *lāsya* dance was taught to the women of Saurāshtra by Bāna's daughter, Ushā, who learnt it from Pārvatī, the spouse of god Śankara Hemachandra refers to *rāsaka,* and Lakshmana-gani (1143) describes it thus

> Some ladies dance *rāsa* giving time-beats with hands high and low, some smile as their hands move in rhythm [10]

*Saptakshetrirāsa,* an Old Gujarātī work (1271), refers to two kinds of *rāsas* *tāla rāsa,* in which the rhythmic beat was marked by clapping the hands, and *lakuta rāsa,* in which small sticks held in the hands of each dancer were used for the purpose [11] Both these forms are still in vogue, and as popular as they were then

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9 *Brahma P*, 189 1-45, *Brahmavaivarta P*, IV 28-53

10. केवि उत्तालतालाउल रासय कुणहिं करनिच्चिय अवरि वरहासय।

11. तीछे तालारस पडइ बहु भाट पढता।
    अनइ लकुटारस जोईई खेला नाचता ॥

The *rāsa* dance naturally gave rise to poetic literature depicting Love's conquests in spring, or the loves of Sri Krishna and Rādhā It was essentially popular in tone and expression, its great feature was its freedom from strict rules of prosody Each poem had its own law, and all that was necessary was cadence, and the possibility of its being sung to a popular melody known as *rāga* or *deśī*, local style [12] Such a poem, which could be sung with a *rāsa*, came to be called a *rāsa* or a *rāsaka*, and later, *garabī*, from the dance, *garabo*

The *rāsa* sung in the spring festival or *phāga* was itself called *phāga* The *phāgu* poems describe the glories of the spring, the lovers and their dances, and give a glimpse of the free and joyous life of Gujarāt before the fourteenth century The earliest available *phāga* in Old Gujarātī is *Sthūlibhadraphāga* (1324)

But the word *rāsa* changed its meaning about the end of the eleventh century, it came to be used for a long composition giving a sustained narrative in rhymed verse, partly in old Apabhramśa metres like *duhā* and *chupāī* and partly in *deśī* melodies which were popular in Gujarāt even before the eleventh century In 1118 Yaśodeva, in his *Navatatvabhāshya*, refers to such *rāsa* in Apabhramśa Hemachandra calls a similar composition a *mahākāvya* *Bharateśvarabāhubali rāsa* by Śālibhadra, the first available *rāsa* in Old Gujarātī, is dated 1185 At first perhaps, the popular *charitas* and *dharmakathās* were called *rāsas*, later, all poems in this form came to be known as *rāsas* irrespective of the subject which they treated, and were sung by men and women on festive occasions Jain literature of this kind became stereotyped New authors did nothing but turn the works of their predecessors in Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhramśa, and even Old Gujarātī, into *rāsas*

A love poem, set to popular tunes, was another poetic form The earliest specimen of such a poem is *Nemināthachatushpadikā* (c 1269) It is a love-lament of Rājala on her separation from Neminātha She describes her feelings as they vary with each month of the year

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12 Vide Appendix I

Rājala weeps bitterly as she sees the lakes full of water in the month of Bhādrapada "O source of all kindness! Why have you left me, lonely and helpless?"

Her friend replies, "Do not weep He is heartless and will never be yours, otherwise, having reared a tree, he would not set fire to it, having carried you to the top of a mountain, he would not throw you down"

Rājala replies, "You speak truly In these rains, the lakes burst their bounds, the sea tosses about, and the mountains are worn away, but the dark-complexioned beloved does not relent"[13]

In a similar vein the poem refers successively to the other months of the year Later, similar poems were very popular under the name of *bāramāsī*, literature of the twelve months

## V

The first notable author in Old Gujarātī appeared at the beginning of the fifteenth century Somasundar (1374-1446), a Jain *sādhu* of great literary attainments, composed explanatory works in prose on religious and philosophic treatises His *Rangasāgara Nemiphāga* is a charming poem

Then, in spring full of the fragrance of the sweet Mādhavī creeper, is born Rati, the goddess of love Trees take up weapons of flowers and start to fight the love-lorn Madana enters the battlefield and blows his trumpet, the Malaya breeze Bees, his soldiers, bustle about, and cuckoos sound a clarion call

All gardens begin to bear the weapons of the god who shoots flower-arrows Bees spread everywhere

When people, fascinated, see bees sitting on a Sevantī flower, they say that Rāhu has eclipsed the moon

Another short and interesting poem of the kind is *Vasantavilāsa*, The Joys of Spring, believed to have been composed in the beginning of the fifteenth century The poem was found in an illuminated manuscript containing paintings in the style of Ajantā, which was favoured by the Gujarātī painters of the time[14] A love-lorn bride, oppressed

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13. भाद्रवि भरिया सर पिक्खेवि सकरुण रोअइ राजलदेवि।
हा एकलडी मइ निरधार किम ऊवेखिसि करुणासार॥
भणइ सखी राजल मन रोइ नीठुर नेमि न अप्पणु होइ।
सिंचिय तरुवर परि पलवति गिरिवर पुण् कउ डरा हुति॥
साचउं सखि वरि गिरि भिज्जति किमइ न भिज्जइ सामलकति।
घण वरिसतइ सर फुट्टंति सायरु पुण घणुओह डलिति॥

14 N C Mehta, *Studies in Indian Painting* Chapter II

by the fresh beauties of the spring, expresses her feelings thus

Stop, friend cuckoo Why sing so much? I am forlorn, my lord is far away, I cannot take delight in pleasure My garland is a burden on my breast Friend, ornaments are like blazing fire to me Perfume does not attract me, nor does the moon fascinate me Friend, my body is athrob with pain, fine raiment no longer charms me, my food is tasteless to-day, even sweet water tastes flat

Full moon, why do you give me pain? Why? Dark-spotted one, why kill a helpless woman? Consider well if you kill me, it will be sinful

Bee, please leave me alone My body is frail Moon! Torturer! We have no old scores to pay[15]

*Phāgu*, composed by Natarshi (c 1439), expressing the joys of spring, is an excellent specimen of *phāga* literature

The month of Phāga has begun Spring has come, the good people are full of joy, Malaya breezes blow, burning the heart of lovers

*Rāsaka*

The sylvan goddess came and besought the Lord "The ten quarters have assumed new forms, Kāmadeva is coming to embrace you, Krishna Lord Murāri, pray come"

Having heard this, the Lord was pleased and looked at his friends, and with his friends the Yādava went to the forest

Maidens, bowed with the weight of their breasts, move like elephants excited with passion, their anklets tinkle and the broad bracelets shine

Their braided hair look as if a cobra had nestled there, vying with the colour of their lips, corals acknowledge defeat

*Āndola*

*Gopīs* begin to dance, hand-drums are played upon, bending their beautiful bodies, they dance to the accompaniment of rhythmic movements Śārngadhara, the best of his family, plays the flute

They sing new songs of spring to the melody of the *srīrāga*, they keep time with their feet Śārngadhara plays the flute

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15 रहि रहि तोरीय जो इलि, कोइलि स्यु बहु वास।
नाहुलउ अजीय न आवइ, भावइ मू न विलास॥
उर वरि हारु ते भारु मू, सयरि सिंगारु अगारु।
चीतु हरइ नवि चदन, चद नही मनोहारु॥
सखि मुझ दूष अनीठऊ, दीठऊ गमइ न चीरु।
भोजनु आज उछीठउ, मीठउ, स्वदइ न नीरु॥
सकलकला तू निशाकर, शा कर सइरि सतापु।
अबल म मारि कलकीय, शकीय थ्या हव पापु॥
भमरला छाडि न पाषल, षाषल थ्या अह्म सइर।
चांदुला सइर-सतापण, आपण ता नहीं वइर॥

In their hands, *gopis* hold lotus-stems, they wave them over their heads, to every tune, they keep time And Śārngadhara plays the flute

As the moon shines among the stars, so does Mukunda among *gopis*, gods, men and Indra bow down to him in worship Śārngadhara plays the flute

*Phāga*

The best of cowherds, Mukunda, and the *gopis* wander about in the forest, playing, and the forest, inspired by the breeze, bows low to Murāri [16]

The literature of the *deśabhāshā* possessed an artistic beauty of its own, though it was largely influenced by works like *Gītagovinda*, or, as is more likely, by older songs

VI

The Jain *sādhus* popularised their teachings by means of prose *kathās*, some of which have been preserved The prose which they used was highly developed, racy and expressive It possessed a rhythmic charm peculiar to itself, and, often, was embellished with literary graces borrowed

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फागु

16. आविय मास वसतक, सत करइ उत्साह।
मलयानिल महि वायउ, आयउ कामगि दाह॥

रासक

षणवरि आविय प्रभु वीनविउ, नवि दसइ दिसारी रे।
माधव माधव भेटणे आवइ, आवित देव मुरारि रे॥
वात सुणी प्रभु मणि अति हरखिय, निरखिय गृहपरिवार रे।
निज परिवारिइ जादव पुहुतु, बहु तु वनह मझारि रे॥
थण-भरि नमती तरुणी करुणी, वरुणी चरण सचारि रे।
चालइ चमकत झमकत नेउर, केउर कटक विशाल रे॥
वेणिय वयणि मिषतरि, भितरि रहिउ सिरि नाग।
अधररग परवालिय, आलिय नावइ भाग॥

आदोल

नाचइं गोपिय वुद, वाइं मधुर मृदग।
मोडइ अंग सुरग, सारगधर वाइत महूयरि ऐ, कुलवण महूयर ए॥
कर लिइ पकज नाल, सिरि वरि फेरइ बाल।
छंदिहि वाजह ताल, सारंगधर०
तारा माहि जिम चद, गोपिय माह मुकुंद।
पणमइं सुरनर इद, सार गधर०

फागु

गोपिय गोपति क्रीडति, हींडत वनह मझारि।
मारुत प्रेरित वन भर नमइं मुरारि॥

from Sanskrit works like *Kādambarī* The style of Tarunaprabha (1355), the first author of merit in prose we know of, is remarkable for vigour, grace and felicity of expression His *Pratikramaṇabālāvabodha*, intended to illustrate the ethical doctrines of the Jains, is well told

Somasundar's *Upadeśamālā* and *Yogaśāstra* contain numerous tales in prose, which, though less rhetorical than Tarunaprabha's, show ease and rhythm The stories written for the young, the ignorant and the credulous are simple, full of miracles, and inspired by a hatred of the Brāhmana, the sādhu's age-long and successful rival in religion, letters and politics

A cunning Brāhmana of Ujjayinī, Aghorasiv, went to the land of tanners He met thieves He said to them, "I am assuming the garb of a *muni* to pass myself off as an ascetic, praise me that the people may be deceived" The thieves consented Thereafter, the Brāhmana, assuming an ascetic's garb, went and lived in a forest between three villages The thieves began to praise him to the people, they said that he had been fasting for a month and induced the people to worship him

The people invited him to meals Believing him to be an ascetic, they told him of their wealth and consulted him about their future gains and other affairs Having come to know of the wealth of the people, he joined the other thieves and broke open their houses at night

Once, one of the thieves was caught On being beaten, he disclosed the names of the other thieves The people captured all of them and punished them As the Brāhmana had been in the garb of an ascetic, they gouged out his eyes and drove him away Afflicted by pain and censured by people, he felt contrition for his acts He died and went to hell Thus he who deceives others, lives to be sorry for his acts [17]

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17. उज्जयनी नगरीइ अघोरशिव इसिं नामिं धूर्त ब्राह्मण चर्मकार देशि गिओ। चोररहइं मिलइ। इसिउ कहइ–हूं मुनिवेष लेई तपस्वी थाउ छउं। तुह्म्यो मुजव्हइं वषाणियो जिम सुखि लोक वचाइ। चोरे मानिउ। पछइ ते ब्राह्मण परिव्राजकनु वेष करि त्रिहु गाम विचालइ वनमांहि थई रहिओ। चोर लोक देषता वखाणइ तेहनइ। ए मासोपवास करइ तापस—इम कही तेहनइं पूजा करावइं । लोक तेहनइं घरि तेडी जिमाडइं। महा तापस भणी मानता आपणा घरनी लक्ष्मीनूं स्वरूप तेहव्हइं कहइं अनइ आगामीया लाभादिकनउ स्वरूप पूछइ। पछइ ते लोकनी लक्ष्मी हेरीनइं रात्रिनइं समइं बीजां चोरसाथीं लोकना घर मुंसइं। एकवार तेह माहिलओ एक चोर साहिओ। तीणइं मारीतइ बीजाइं चोर सघलाइ कहिया। लोके सघलाइं धरिया मारिया। परिव्राजक भणी आषि काढी मूंकिओ। पछइ ते वेदनाक्रांत हूतओ लोके निंदीतु पश्चात्ताप करइं। मरी नरगि गिओ। इम अनेरु ऊ जिको वंचइं ते इम शोचइ—पश्चात्ताप करइं॥

But a much more artistic piece of prose *dharmakathī* is *Prithvīchandracharitr* by Mānikyachandr (1422) The story is exceedingly well told Apart from the conventional lists of weapons, sciences, etc , it contains some excellent descriptions, revealing a rare sense of proportion The language is more elaborate than Tarunaprabha's or Somasundar's and more musical The sentences are constructed with a sure eye to rhetoric and balance, and, at places, attain poetic cadence Very often, the sentences are broken up into clauses, the last words of which rhyme

In Chapter I the rivers, the mountains and the countries of the world, and the city of Paithan in Mahārāshtra, its markets and its jewels are described in detail Prithvīchandra, the king, sees a dream

What kind of dream? The king saw a damsel who had the golden hue, tempting even to gods, she had jingling anklets, shining earrings, a garland in her hand, a broad forehead like the crescent moon [18]

As she throws a garland on his neck, the king wakes up Next day he holds his court, and the author enumerates his officers and describes his court A messenger from Ayodhyā arrives, who describes the country of Kośala, its capital, its king Somadev, his queen, and their accomplished daughter, Ratnamañjarī, versed in seventy-two arts

Chapter II begins with the description of the monsoon

The monsoon, enemy of travellers, then arrived, famine disappeared In the rains, lively thunder issued from the clouds, and the famine-stricken became fearless as if the drums of victory had announced the arrival of King Plenty In all quarters, lightning flashed, travellers ran home The sky became fearful, the sun and the moon developed a nimbus The nights were dark, the insects sang The storm from the north spread, the heavens were overcast The quarters of the sky were dark, peacocks danced Rain poured in torrents, waters flowed noisily, creepers covered the hedges Carts, ploughing through the mud, got stuck, people turned their thoughts to God Rivers were flooded, overflowing their banks Saplings sprouted, foliage danced Farmers

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18. किसिउ ते स्वप्न ? इसिउ–जाणइ नरेश्वर, सुवर्णवर्णकाति, देवरहइ मन भ्राति, षलकते नेउरि, झलकते कुडलि, हाथि वरमाल, अर्द्धचद्रसमभाल, रूपि विशाल, इसी बालदेवी देषइ भूपाल।

rejoiced, religious teachers read the scriptures, streams ran down mountains, and lakes, filled to the brim, overflowed [19]

King Somadev goes to see a lake The Brahmaṇas are invited, and the Purānas and the Smritis, which are enumerated, are recited Ratnamañjarī comes to the lake A swan, lovely like a heap of *kunda* flowers, flies from the lake and alights on the king's hand The princess, moved by curiosity, takes it in her hands The swan suddenly flies away with her The king's efforts to recover the princess meet with no success Then comes spring, and the king again goes to the lake He is presented with a lotus, from which Ratnamañjarī emerges The restoration is duly celebrated, and the joy of the people is fully described The king then decides to hold a *svayamvara* for his daughter and invites all eligible suitors, and the messenger has come to Prithvīchandr with the invitation

Prithvīchandr starts for the *svayamvara* with his troops, chariots and horses, traverses a forest, and halts before a city Suddenly, a man runs up to him and falls at his feet The warders of the city, in pursuit of the man, ask the king to give him up as he is a thief Prithvīchandr declines to surrender him Thereupon, Samaraketu, the king of the city, marshalls his army for battle The two armies meet, and Prithvīchandr, thanks to divine aid, is victorious Samaraketu lies at his feet, a chained slave

In Chapter III the fugitive who was pursued as a thief tells his story

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19 विस्तरिउ वर्षाकाल, जे पथीतणउ काल, नाठउ दुकाल। जीणिइ वर्षाकालि मधुरध्वनि मेह गाजइ, दुर्भिक्षतणा भय लभाजइ, जाणे सुभिक्षभूपति आवतां जयढक्का वाजइ। चिंहु दिसि बीज झलहलइ, पथी घरभणी पुलइ। विपरीत आकाश, चद्रसूर्य परियास। राति अधारी, लवइ तिमिरी। उत्तरनउ ऊनयण, छायउ गयण। दिसि घोर, नाचइ मोर। सधर, वरसइ धाराधर। पाणीतणा प्रवाह षलहलइ, षाडि ऊपरि वेला वलइं। चीषलि चालतां शकट स्खलइ, लोकतणा मन धर्म्मंऊपरि वलइं। नदि महापूरि आवइ, पृथ्वीपीठ प्लावइ। नवा किसलय गहगहइ, वल्लीवितान लहलहइ। कुटुंबीलोक माचइ, महात्मा बइठां पुस्तक वाचइ। पर्वततउ नीझरण विछूटइं, भरिया सरोवर फूटइ।

In Angades is situated the city of Śrīpur, where lived a merchant, Lakshmīdhar, full of wealth. I, Śrīpati, am his son, but my luck was bad. Our wealth was ten crores, but it disappeared with my father. Father died, and, after his death, what was in the ship sank in the sea. Some wealth was misappropriated by the servants, what was in the shop was stolen by thieves. Whatever was in different places was lost. Some was taken away by the king. My house was razed by fire. I lost all support. All wealth was gone, one lac alone remained.

Then I left all other work, and began to load a ship. On an auspicious day, the ship was loaded. Three hundred and sixty kinds of spices were loaded in it, seven kinds of sweets were put on board, seven kinds of pickles were stored, the casks were filled with water. The god of the sea and the crows were worshipped. The drums resounded and trumpets were blown. Bābarī and Kolī began to dance, sailors began to shout, the mast was erected, the anchor was weighed, the sails were spread, the sailor in charge began to throw out water collected in the boat, the helmsman sat holding the sheet, the captain sat in the bow. Oars were plied. The helmsman began to steer, the pilot to look after the ship. The gods were happy, the sea echoed back the music.

We went further, cold winds blew, and the sky was overcast with clouds. Furious gales blew, the sea became stormy. The waves rose sky high, the frightened people became sea-sick. The waves rose higher and the cargo was lost. Some one said, "Oh! Luck", others began to pray to the gods. The ship dashed against a rock and was wrecked. Śrīpati found a plank. Clinging to it, he came to the shore after three days.[20]

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20 अगदेशि श्रीपुरिनगर, तिहा श्रेष्टि लक्ष्मीधर, श्रीलक्ष्मीइ सधर। तेहतणु पुत्र हु श्रीपति, पणि विषम देवगति। दसकोडि द्रव्य हूती, पणि बापुजीसाथि पहुति। पिता परोक्ष हूआ पूठिइ ज वाहणमाहि घातिउ, त समुद्र सातिउ। कई वाणउत्रे ग्रसिउ, हाट चोरे मुसिउ। थलवटनउ थलवटइ रहिउ, काई ठाकुर ग्रहिउ। घर बलिउ, समग्र मंडाण टलिउं। समग्र द्रव्य निस्तरिउ, एकलक्ष द्रव्य ऊगरिउ। पछइ अवर काजकाम छाडिउ। प्रवहण पूरिवा माडिउ। भलइ दिवसि प्रवहण पूरिउ। त्रिन्नि सइं साठि क्रियाणा चडाव्या, सप्तविध पकवान चडाव्या, सप्तविध करबा लिया, पोता सपाणी भरिया, देवसमुद्र वायस पूजाव्या। षाभिल मादल वाजिवा लागा, बाबरि कोलणि नाचेवा लागी, गलेला हेलाहेल करवा लागा। कूउषभउ ऊभउ कीधउ, नागर ऊपाडिउ, सिढ ताडिउ, घामतीउ घामत उलीचइवा लागु, वाऊरीऊ तलि पइठउ, नीजामउ नालि बइटउ। आउला पडइ, सूकाणी सूकाण चालवइ, मालिम वाहण जालवइ, सुरवर लहलह्या, वादित्रनादि समुद्र गाजी रह्या। हिव आगलि जाता हूता चिलीवाय वाया, आकाशि हूई मेघछाया। ऊडिउ पवन प्रबल, समुद्र हूउ उच्छुं खल। कल्लोल आकाशि ऊपडइं, बीहता लोकरहइ डीबा चडइं। वेला लामी, वस्तु वामी। एक, हा दैव करइ, एक देवध्यान धरइ। वाहण पर्वति आफली भागउं, श्रीपतिइ हाथि पाटीउ लागउं। तेहनइ आधारि तरतउ, त्रिहु दिवसि परि आविउ।

Śrīpati then meets an ascetic who demands his head Frightened, he runs away, comes to the city, and is pursued by the city guards

He now wants to give up the world, tired of its injustice Samaraketu, after listening to his experiences, catches the infection and wants to give up his throne Prithvīchandr asks him to accept the worship of Jina In the meantime, a sādhu comes along and Samaraketu accepts the Jain faith

Prithvīchandr proceeds to Ayodhyā He is received by Somadeva and, when he attends the *svayamvara*, outshines all the kings present Ratnamañjarī comes dressed for the occasion, and the suitors are introduced to her Ultimately, she accepts Prithvīchandr as her husband

In Chapter IV King Dhūmaketu, angry at being passed over by Ratnamañjarī, raises an army of demons Confusion follows, darkness spreads everywhere, and in the morning, the princess is found to have disappeared Every one is anxious until the earth opens, and a divine woman seated on a throne brings back Ratnamañjarī Prithvīchandr then marries the princess and rejoicings follow

Prithvīchandr and Somadev, soon thereafter listen to a recital of the life of Dharmanāth Tīrthankar, from which they receive religious inspiration Prithvīchandr and Ratnamañjarī return to Paithan, where, in course of time, a son is born to them The king then takes Jain vows

## VII

In spite of the loss of royal patronage, the sādhus continued to pursue their literacy activities in Sanskrit, which, however, left the classical groove and ran in popular channels Following the footsteps of Hemachandra and Somaprabha, they created a new mythology for their faith out of the legends of Kumārapāla and Hemachandra, many of which had already attained absurd proportions The works belonging to this period which have been the main source for later literature of its kind are (1) *Prabhāvakacharitra* by Prabhāchandra and Pradyumna (1278), (2) *Prabandhachintāmani* by Merutunga (1303-1306), and (3) *Chaturvimśatiprabandha* by Rājaśekhara (1348-49) The first is a

collection of twenty-two legendary lives of Jain teachers and includes one of Hemachandra The second contains a series of episodes concerning, among others, Vikrama, Śālivāhana, Vanarāja, Muñja of Dhārā, Bhoja of Ujjayinī, Bhīma, Siddharāja, Kumārapāla and Hemachandra The third is on the same lines as the second

*Prabandhachintāmani* is by far the best of the three in style and treatment, as also in wealth of historical material Though mainly in Sanskrit prose, it contains interesting quotations from Apabhramśa literature The language is at places full of inaccuracies and *deśī* words, and the work, as a whole, is not of a high literary order The anecdotes are full of anachronisms, omissions and bias, making them unreliable as historical documents But the author never pretended to write any history

> The old stories do not delight persons of understanding as they have heard them very often, hence, I am compiling this *Prabandhachintāmani* which contains detailed information about the good men who lived nearer our times All *prabandhas*, as the learned recite them according to their understanding, become different in character, clever people, therefore, should not criticise this work, as it is based on good tradition

As centuries passed, the historical *prabandhas* ceased to have any element of history in them and deteriorated even from the literary point of view The only other important work of this kind in Sanskrit, produced during this age, is *Kumārapālacharitra* by Jayasimha (1360) *Kumārapālaprabandha* by Jinamandan (1436) and *Vastupālacharita* by Jinahams are similar works

*Note A Gujarātī*

The word Gujarāt came to be progressively applied to the certain parts of the present region known by the name by the middle of the 12th century[21] Marco Polo (1254-1324) applied it to a territory which included modern Gujarāt, Ambadevasūri[22] author of *Samarārāsa* (1315) and Rājasekharasūri (1348)[23] knew the region by that name, Padmanābh (1456) uses the word Gujarāt, as also the adjective Gujarātī[24]

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21 Munshi, IG p 4

22 आविउ गुजरात.

23 गूजरातेति ख्यातदेशं।

24 गूजरातिनु भोजनकरुं; गूजराति ते कहीइ किसी.

Its *desabhāshā* was referred to by early authors as Apabhramsa Gaurjarī or Lātī, by Bhālan (c 1426-1500) as Apabhramsa or Gurjarabhāsā[25], by Mārkandeya in his *Prakriyāsarvasva* (c 1450) as Gaurjarī Apabhramsa[26], by Padmanābh (1456) as Prākrit[27], by Narasimh Mehtā (1450 ? ) as Apabhrashta girā[28], by Akho (1650) as Prākrit, or Bhāshā[29]; Premānand (c 1647-1750) was perhaps the first to call it Gujarātī[30], and, for the first time, it was so styled by foreign visitors about the same time (1731)[31] These names were used generally to distinguish it from Sanskrit, the language of culture

With a view, however, to find a place for it in a scheme of Indian languages, modern scholars have tried to invent new names for it Dr Tessitori calls it Old Western Rājasthānī[32] from the area in which it was spoken, Narasimhrao Divatia calls it Gaurjarī Apabhramśa, Grierson calls it Gujarātī

*Note B Evolution of Old Gujarātī*

Generally speaking, in the synthetic stage of a language the particles added to a noun to form case-endings are not separable, but are incorporated in the word itself, with the result that the terminal syllable is varied as in Sanskrit In the analytic stage, the word stands without any termination and an auxiliary word is tacked on to express the relations denoted by the termination

The changes described in the text are illustrated with special reference to the works mentioned on pages 85 and 86

I The nominative case termination in Skt is the *visarga*, i e, चद्र. In Apa it is उ, e g, त्रासु भणइ, the same, in Old Guj No 1 (1185), it is optionally dropped in No 2 (1210), e g, सीस भणइ The option is continued till it is dropped in No 8 (394), e g, चद्र उगइ

The objective case termination in Skt is म् e g, चद्रम्, it is उ in Ap it is optional in No 2 and in No 1 (1185), (1210), e g, चरित पढइ The option is also found in No 8 (1394), e g, जीव ससार तरइ and किसउ तरइ, ससारु

The instrumental case termination survived even in Old Guj, e g, धर्म्मिइ तरइ in No 8 (1394), in Mod Guj an optional form is used with a preposition, e g, धर्मथी or धर्मे तरे छे

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25 गुजर भाषाए नळराजाना गुण मनोहर गाउ, कथामात्र ए नइषधरानी अपभ्रस ए दाखी

26 सस्कृताढयाच गौर्जरी।

27 प्राकृतबध कवित मति करी

28 अपभ्रष्ट गिराविशे काव्य केवू दीसे

29 भाषाने शु वळगे भूर; काइ प्राकृतमाथी नाशी गयु.

30 बाधु नागदमण गुजराती भाषा

31 La Croze, LSI, IX Pt II, 333

32 I A 1914

Pk and Ap had no dative In Old Guj it is an optional with इणिकारणि in No 7 (1355) नइ कारणि is continued in No 8 (1394) Thereafter the case termination is no longer used The preposition ने, which is used, is derived from Pkt thus लगि-लइ-नइ-ने and is, perhaps, similar to Marāṭhī ला and Nepālī ळ. According to Narsimhrao, it is derived from Skt तन-तण-नु-ने Dave connects it with नय and S K Chatterji and K K. Shastri derive it as कर्ण—कन्न—अन्न—ने

The ablative termination in Skt is formed by अत e g, रामात्, by होन्तउ and हो in Apa, by हूतु in No 2 (1210), by इनउ, उतउ in No 7 (1355), by इतउ, हूनउ, or the preposition थउ, थकउ in No 8 (1394) थी-थकउ are derived from Skt स्थित and स्थिं and their use marks the analytic stage of the language Bhālan (1452) uses थी-थकी, some others, स्थकी. The optional use of हूतु is continued till the end of the XVII century in Jain works

The genitive case termination in Skt is स्य, in Ap it is हो and ह, e g, कतहो, नरह, is ह in No 2 (1210), e g, वीरजिणेदह तीथि But the preposition तणउ, अह नउ and नउ is also used in Ap It is used in Old Guj in No 1 (1145), e g, भरह नरिंदह तणउ चरित्तो, and in No 2 (1202), and displaces the termination in No 5 (1274) It becomes अह नउ तणउ, in No 8 (1394), e g, चैत्रतणउ, and तणो and ना in *Kānhadadeprabandh* (1456) Both these latter forms have come down to Mod Guj Another preposition used for the purpose is derived from Skt कार्य-क It becomes केर in Ap, survives as केरो in Bhālan (c 1450) and as केरो in Māravāḍī, and is still used in poetry and in some adjectives in Mod Guj, e g, सोनेरी, रुपेरी It is found in Bengali आमार.

II No 6 (1280) shows that the change referred to in para II p 86 had come to stay e g, गाजइ for गज्जर Ap and गजति Skt बाप for Ap

III No 6 (1280) has बइसइ *for* उवइसइ Ap, and उपविशति Skt The same work uses अच्छइ as in Apa for अस्ति Skt and अच्छइ Pālī, but it becomes छइ in No 7 (1355)

IV Tarunaprabha (c 1355) and Somasundar in (c 1400) first use छइ as auxiliary It is also used as auxiliary in *Vīsaladevarāso* by Nālha but its date (1216) is doubtful, as the work discloses many later features

V (a) About 1500 the अइ became इ, about 1600 it became ए, the final अ or उ became ओ छइ became छे through छि, घोडउ Old Guj became घोडों through घोडु

(b) The penultimate उ or ऊ became अ, कठिन turned to कठण, लुणइ to लणे This change was effected about 1650

(c) About 1700, स when preceding इ, ए, य became श, e g, बेसीने-बेशीने, and ल became ळ in writing though it was spoken as early as the time of Hemachandra, e g, मल्वु-मळवु In South Gujarāta and the sea coast in Saurāshtra and several other parts the change has not been effectively introduced even now

(d) The passive °ईयइ, is substituted by °आय, e g , करीयइ Old Guj , was replaced by कराय

(e) Between 1410 and 1650 various other changes came into existence by which

(i) The synthetical concord was changed to fit into a later idiom, e g , the concord in the passive voice of verbs in the past tense as in Skt was used by Bhālan and Premānand, but, later, this is altered and the object is put in as in dative with ने दिठु नही तेणि व्याधि हु (Bhālan) would be now ते व्याधें मन दीठो नही कहें द्रुपदी हु भले टाळी (Premānand) would be कहे द्रपदी मने भले टाळी,

(ii) An idea conveyed by an earlier grammatical form was altered in its later form, e g , the sense of the passive future third person singular form is altered to the active future first person singular कथयिष्यति Skt कहिशइ Old Guj (It will be told) is changed to कहीश (I will tell) कथ्यते Skt, कहिज्जइ Ap , कहीए Old Gujarātī (It is told) is changed into कहीए (We tell)

For a detailed philological discussion *vide* the Wilson Philological Lectures by Narsimhrao Divatia, entitled *Gujarati Language and Literature,* Vol II

CHAPTER II

# PADMANĀBH AND HEROIC POETRY IN OLD GUJARĀTĪ

Heroic poetry—*Ranamallachand* (c 1400)—Padmanābh (1456) —*Kāhnaḍadeprabandh*—Its value

AS it appears from the verses already quoted from Hemachandra's works, Gujarāt had heroic poetry in Apabhraṁśa reflecting its martial spirit in the days of the Chālukyas and Vāghelās A similar literature in Old Gujarātī has all but disappeared, only two poems give an idea of its nature They provide a brilliant picture of the epic heroism displayed by Gujarāt when it grimly contested every inch of ground with the invader

## I

The first poem, *Ranamallachand*, is a short ballad, composed about 1390 by Śrīdhar, celebrating the heroic deeds of Ranamall of Iḍar It consists of seventy stanzas in metres like *sārasī* (*harigīta*), *totaka* and *bhujangī* and is the earliest work of a kind which has been a favourite of the bards This literature, principally panegyric, is composed in metres which lend themselves to recitation with considerable dramatic force The language is very often archaic and strongly alliterative Sometimes words are altered beyond recognition in the interest of sound effects, and assonances and other verbal tricks abound

Ranamall of Idar, of the Kamadhaj or Rāthod family, was a great warrior About 1385, he harassed Mir Malik Muza, the viceroy of Pātan and spread terror among his Muslim vassals

> As the army of the Sultan bristled with valour Ranamall's whiskers flew straightened with wrath [1]

The Sultan calls upon him to submit Ranamall roars

> If my lotus-like head bows before the Mlechchha's feet, the sun will not rise in the sky So long as the sun moves in the sky, Kamadhaj will

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1 साहस–वसि सुरताण–दल समुंहरि जिम चमकन्त, तिम रणमल्लह रोस–वसि मूछ–सिहरि फुरकन्त.

not bow to a Turk. The flame of the submarine fire may be extinguished, but I will not yield an inch of land to the Mlechchha.[2]

A battle ensues between the two armies, and is described in jingling rhymes. The Muslims are routed, and in token of submission the not unusual humiliation of being made to eat grass is forced on them. Ranamall begins to think of world-wide conquest, and says, "I shall conquer everything on which the sun shines."[3]

II

*Kānhadadeprabandh* (c. 1456) follows a great literary tradition. It deals with the struggle which Gujarāt made for self-preservation after 1297, and breathes the grim and heroic attitude of her people during those centuries. The author, Padmanābh of Vīsalanagar, was the poet-laureate of Akherāj, the Cāhamāna or Chohān king of Jhālor and a descendant of the hero of the poem. A few manuscripts of the work, luckily mistaken for those of a religious work, were preserved by the Jain temples. Its language is Old Gujarātī. The style, though not as elegant as Bhālan's, maintains a high level of expressiveness. The language is neither trite nor ornate, the interest is well sustained throughout. The author, however, could not resist the temptation of recording in the conventional manner the names of Rajput and Muslim warriors, and of introducing didactic verses and tedious narratives of past lives. In some places, the chronological order has not been preserved, and the same descriptions appear more than once. As a narrative, it is much better than many other *rāsas*, and it has the merit of being without religious bias.

III

The poem opens with a prayer, and proceeds to mention Māravād, 'the land of nine forts', and the Sonagirā Chohāns 'as noble looking as royal swans'. Karnadev Ghelo ruled in Gujarāt. Being enamoured of Keśav's wife, he killed the husband and appropriated the wife. The minister

2. मुझ सिरकमल मेच्छपय लग्गइ, तु गयणङ्गणि भाण न उग्गइ.
जा अम्बरपुडतलि तरणि रमइ, ता कमधजकन्ध न धगड नमइ.
वरि वडवानल तण झाल शमइ; पुण मेच्छ न आपूं चास किमइ.

3. इक्कछत्त रवितलि करू

Mādhav, Keśav's brother, moved by wrath, said, "I shall not taste any food in Gujarāt till I bring the Turks here"[4] On this, the poet feelingly laments

> To the place where he worshipped his God and sang His praises, where he performed sacrifices and gave gifts to Brāhmanas, where he worshipped the sacred Tulsī plant and Pipal tree, heard recited the Vedas and the Purānas, where all go for pilgrimage, where all sing the Smritis and the Purānas, there, Mādhav brought the Mlechchhas[5]

Ready to betray his country for a private wrong, Mādhav goes to Delhi He approaches Sultan Allā-ud-dīn with presents and offers to subdue Gujarāt if an army is given to him The Sultan consents, and sends a message to Kānhaḍade, the Chohān king of Jhālor, to let the army pass through his territory on its way to Gujarāt Proudly, Kānhadade replies

> I owe no such duty They will plunder the villages, take my men prisoners, tear off women's ears I do not make way for those who oppress the Brāhmana and the cow[6]

But Allā-ud-dīn, determined to conquer Gujarāt, secures a passage through Mevād Battad of Moḍāsā vainly bars the way of the onrushing host

Pillaging, burning and destroying, the Sultan's army marches towards Pātan The Muslims, with Mādhav at their head, invest the city The ex-minister, traitor to the last, advises Karn to escape with his life The king takes the advice, the queen flees on foot, and the capital falls into the hand of Alafkhān, the general of Allā-ud-dīn 'And from what once were temples was sounded the muezzin's call to prayers'

The army then started on a further campaign of conquest and destruction to the south It carried carnage right up to Surat, Rander, and the sea, returned to Saurāshtra,

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4 गूजरातिनू भोजन करू, जु तरकाणु आणू अरहू.

5 जिहा पूजीइ सालिग्राम, जिहा जपीइ हरिनू नाम,
जिणि देसि कीजइ जाग, जिहा विप्रनइ दीजइ त्याग,
जिहा तुलसी पीपल पूजीइ, वेद पुराण धर्म बूझीइ,
जिणि देसि सहू तीरथ जाइ, स्मृति पुराण मानीइ गाइ
. . . . . . . . . . . माधवि म्लेच्छ आणिया तहिं.

6 ए ता नहीं अह्मारु धर्म,
भाजीइ गाम झालीइ बान, अबला तणा त्रोडीइ कान,
जिहां पीडइ विप्र नइ गाइ, तिहा वाट नवि आपइ राइ.

destroyed many of its towns, and proceeded to Prabhās The Rajputs mobilised their strength to protect the shrine of Somanāth, and valiantly fought the enemy But the fortress fell, and in front of the temple which they had vainly sought to protect, the heroic warriors, after ceremonial bathing and anointment, fell fighting, 'surrendered themselves to Somanāth' Mādhav, the cause of all this evil, was also killed

The temple had fallen into the hands of the enemy Alafkhān broke open the shrine, shattered the idol to pieces, and carried away the fragments in a cart to Delhi "We shall make *chunam* out of it", he said The poet then piteously asks Śiva

> In former times, O Rudra, you burnt the demons by your wrath You spread virtue in the world, you removed the terror which oppressed the gods, you put to flight the powerful demon, Tripura, even as the wind blows away chaff Padmanābh asks you O Rudra! Where is now your trident?[7]

The conquering army, the poet proceeds, burnt villages, devastated the land, plundered people's wealth, took Brāhmans and children and women of all castes captive, and flogged them with thongs of raw hide, carried a moving prison with it, and converted the helpless captives into obsequious Turks Alafkhān then turned his attention to Kānhadade, who had declined to give a passage to his army

IV

Pārvatī and Gangā, the god Somanāth's spouses, urge Kānhadade in a dream to save the god from the hands of the Mlechchha When Alafkhān sends a message to Kānhadade, he gets a fitting reply "A hero never praises himself He who performs heroic deeds alone wins fame" Alafkhān thereupon continues his march and encamps at Sirānā Ministers of the Chohān king call on the Khān, who shows them his army and his prisoners The ministers report the state of things to Kānhadade, who gets ready

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7 आगइ रुद्र ! घणइ कोपानलि दैत्य सवे तिइं बाल्या,
तिइ प्रथवी माहि पुण्य वरतावीऊ देवलोकि भय टाल्या.
तिं बलकाक त्रिपुर विध्वंसिउ पवनवेगि जिम तूल;
पद्मनाभ पूछई सोमईंया ! केथऊ करू त्रिसूल ?

for battle The goddess Āśāpurā is worshipped, necessary orders are given, and the Rajput armies go forward to meet the foe

In the battle that follows, the Turks are routed Alafkhān flees for his life The idol of Somanāth is recovered, and nine lacs of prisoners are set free The victory is then celebrated in Jhālor, and the conqueror returns home amidst the rejoicings of his people The fragments of the idol are duly installed in five different towns where they are worshipped (canto 1)

> The fleeing Turks came together in a forest, some were without clothes, some, worn out and starving, others, staggering and wounded, whilst a few were being carried on stretchers[8]
>
> Alafkhān entered Delhi like a thief in the night When the news of battle spread, consternation prevailed The women of the Turks began to weep, some tore their clothes to tatters, many smashed the anklets on their feet Some threw away their precious necklaces, others ripped off their ornaments Some rent their hair One had lost her brother, another a husband, a third her handsome sons The markets were closed[9]

V

Allā-ud-dīn puts the blame on Alafkhān and is very wroth He orders another attack on Jhālor The army thereupon marches back and invests the guardian fort of Sāmiānā, which is in the charge of Santalasimh, Kānhadade's nephew Kānhaḍade goes to his nephew's assistance, and the Muslim army is annihilated

Allā-ud-dīn becomes furious He sends for his generals and the viceroy of Pātan, collects his army, and himself

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8 जे जे तुरक नासी ऊवल्या, एक ठामि जई जगलि मिल्या,
एक उघाडा वस्त्र विहीण, भूखइ करी एक थाइ खीण
एक घूमन्ता जाइ घाई, एक डोली ऊपाडया जाइ

9 अलूखान अधारू करी.
. . . नयर माहि पइठू एकलु
भागा तणी वात इम सुणी, ठाम ठाम रोइ तुरकणी
एक फाडइ पहिरणि सूथणी, पाए नेउर भाजइ घणी
एक लाखइ एकाउलि हार, एक ऊतारइ सवि सिणगार
ताणइ वीणि, विछोडइ दोर, एक लूस्या दीसइ बदोरि . .
एक तणा बधव भरतार, एक तणा फूटरा कुमार ...
. . . नगर माहि देवराणा हाट.

takes the field The progress of the army, more like a town in motion, is then described. The army lays siege to Sāmiāṇā, but the fortress is impregnable, and it remains so even at the end of seven long years The Rajputs, in the well-provisioned fort, continue to defy the enemy Allā-ud-dīn then decides upon a sinister strategem Cows are killed, and their flesh, tied up in sacks, is thrown by catapults over the fortress walls into the lake within The following morning, the Rajputs find their only source of water defiled by the flesh of the sacred cow, and decide upon *jamahar*, or *jouhar*

> There was no hope of life None would touch a drop of the water The queen said, "We will now perform *jamahar*" And she addressed a message to the queen of Kānhaḍade "Of what has overtaken us, you will come to know to-morrow Remember us with affection In this life, these are our last salutations" Having thus spoken, the queen put on all her ornaments The retainers brought heaps of sandal-wood Strong and heroic, the queen entered the fire All said "Rāma, Rāma", and the friends wept [10]

The Pādshāh comes to know of the queen's self-immolation, and offers to treat the beleaguered city with every consideration if Santala only submits The heroic king replies, "I am ready to give my life, not my honour" The non-combatants in the fort are then asked to leave it, and all the warriors decide on an attack They worship the Śāligrāma (Vishnu), and then pray to Rāma They take their bath, dry their hair, put on Tulsi garlands round their necks Animated with one desire, they rush on the Muslims A great battle ensues, and the Hindus, fighting valiantly, are killed to a man (canto ii)

This unflinching and terrible self-immolation of women in order to safeguard their honour was the most striking

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10 जीवितव्यनी आशा टली, ए पाणी नहीं पीजइ पली
राणी बोल इसिउ ऊचरिउ, 'इम जाणेजो जमहर करिउ'
कान्हडदेनी घरणि, हती, तेह भणी लखी वीनती
इस्यू कहीऊ 'अह्म वीतू जेउ, हवइ वीचिसि कालि तुह्म तेउ,
अह्मस्यू प्रीति आणेज्यो घणी, आणी जमारइ मोकलामणी'
इस्यू कही नवि लाइ वार, राणी सवि करिउ शिणगार
चदन काठ आणीउ घणु तिहा परिवार मिल्यु तेह तणु.
साहस प्रभावि एतलि आहि, राणी पइठी पावक माहि
राम राम वाणी उच्चरइ, सजन लोकनि आसू खिरइ

and marvellous feature of Hindu warfare during those dire times There is not a fort in Rājputānā which cannot boast of the proud heroism of its women who wooed fire to save their honour, and of men who marched to death to preserve their freedom

## VI

Allā-ud-dīn captures Sāmiānā, and calls upon Kānhadade to surrender But he is again met with a proud refusal The Pādshāh continues his march, and, on the way, pillages and burns the venerable city of Bhīnnamāla, even then a centre of learning Some skirmishes follow with varying success The Muslim army camps near Jhālor Allā-ud-dīn's daughter, Pirojā, who has fallen in love with Vīramadeva, the son of Kānhadade, insists on an offer of marriage being sent to the latter With lofty pride, the Rajput prince spurns the offer

> The Chohān's race is spotless, like the full moon Descended as I am from the sun, shall I disgrace the founder of my race? Shall I become a convert? This has never happened before, and shall not happen now [11]

The insulted Pādshāh then proceeds to invest Jhālor He finds it in a merry mood, for he hears bands playing within its walls, and sees festive banners floating on its towers The Rajputs, at intervals, sally forth from the fort and harass the besiegers, and the Sultan has eventually to withdraw towards Delhi Kānhadade, thirsting for fight, comes out of Jhālor, and his armies press the retreating Muslim army hard

The princess, having acquired occult knowledge, finds that Vīram was her husband in previous lives She tells her father of her relationship with Vīram, and prophesies the death of her lover, of Kānhadade, of her father and of herself This part is introduced evidently after the usual orthodox style of *kathās* from *Tarangalolā* downwards,

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11 चहूआणनू कुल निकलक, जिसिउ पूनम तणु मयक
सूर्य तणइ वशि हु आज, वडा पुरुषनि आवइ लाज
हु ता नहीं वटालू आप . . .
.. ...... इसी वात नवि सुणी पूराणि
.... . आगिइ हुई न, होसि नहीं

but in the mouth of the daughter of Allā-ud-dīn, it mars the realistic charm of the poem

Anxious to see Vīramadev and to obtain the freedom of her sister and brother-in-law, then prisoners in Jhālor, the princess goes to the city with a small retinue She encamps on the bank of a lake, and is met by the chivalrous Kānhadade and his son Vīram The princess begs for love, but in vain

> Love has made me miserable What can I, an unfortunate woman, say? Love I, a foreigner, beg of you, find out for yourself what you are to me My days and nights seem endless, the pain of separation oppresses me, I cannot live without you, my love A fish cannot live without water, no more can a woman without her lord[12]

Vīram is unrelenting The princess, anxious for peace, requests that the Muslim army should not be attacked at night, and that her sister should be released The chivalrous Rajputs readily grant these requests Viram, in return, demands that the Sultan should not destroy temples, pillage the land, or trouble Brāhmanas and slaughter cows On behalf of her father, she agrees to respect his wishes At her desire, she is taken to see Jhālor and has a view of the impregnable citadel Kānhadade releases the prisoners and returns the captured elephants Loaded with presents, the princess returns to her father, and the Sultan withdraws to Delhi (canto iii)

## VII

The princess tells her father of the glories of Jhālor, its learned men, its warriors, its markets, its pleasures, its ramparts, and its prosperity The Pādshāh does not like the engagement into which his daughter has entered, but agrees to wait for the period of eight years, at the end of which, according to her prophecy, Jhālor is to fall Later, he gives order to his army to proceed towards Jhālor The princess sends her nurse with the army to bring

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12 कइ मइ मन्मथ दुहविऊ जी, कइ हू निर्गुण नारि
पीयु परदेसिणी वीनवइ जी, आपि आप सभारि
दिवस दोहिला हू नीगमू जी, रयणि, घणेरी थाइ
विरह वेदना माहरी जी, पीयु विण रहणू न जाइ
जु जलहीणी माछली जी, जीवइ नहीं जग माहि,
कत विहूणी कामिनि जी, तिम तिम खीणी थाइ.

Vīram to her, or in the event of his death, to bring her his head The army is repulsed by the Jhālor forces led by Vīram But the Sultan is adamant Jhālor must be captured at any cost *Delenda est Carthago*

For over twelve years the beleaguered city defies the Sultan Its merchants feed the people, miracles save it from disasters At last a planquin-bearer turns traitor, and discloses a secret way leading to the fort The bearer's wife, furious at her husband's treachery, kills him, and informs Kānhadade of the unexpected entry of the besieging army A desperate battle ensues Kānhaḍade's brother works wonders against heavy odds, but the out-numbered Rajputs are faced with the alternative of death or dishonour Kānhadade sends for the priest and, presenting him with his own horse, begs him to flee from the fort The Brāhmana is not to be outdone, he accepts the king's horses as gifts, but returns them to the royal stables The king is surprised and asks the priest why he, a man of peace, does not leave the fort

> Who will carry your funeral bier, my king? If I live after you die, then, I live in dishonour If Jhālor falls, I too will die[13]

> The solemn rite then begins The queens prepare for the *jamahara*, the priest gives his benedictions to Kānhadade, the subjects now bow before him, and decide to join him in the immolation The king calls his son Vīram and anoints him king Vīram bows to his mother, who blesses him The sandal and other sacred wood is brought All the queens, having bathed, commend themselves to the Sun They enter the fire, precisely 1,984 of their sex follow, gods witness the sacrifice

Kānhaḍade and his men, sword in hand, then rush on the besiegers 'The Rajputs re-enact the *Rāmāyana*' Hundreds fall fighting The city falls into the hands of the enemy, and Kānhadade, at bay, withdraws to the citadel His priest advises him to crown his heroism by falling in battle and the Chauhān hero acts accordingly Vīram reigns for three days and a half His queens also prepare for *jamahara* Their companions looking on, the beautiful

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13 व्यास भणइ, 'कुण बीजउ राजा पालखी खाधि लेसइ ?
जु तह्म पूठि हु जीवू तु अपकीरति खण पामू,
जाल्होरि भेलातइ नश्चि देई आपगू होमू'

queens come to the balconies, and with restrained tears worship their beloved Jhālor fort. "And verily shall we share Vīram's beautiful throne on the Sonagiri Mount," they said, and entered the fire

To ensure death, Vīram thrusts a dagger in his bowels, straps up the wound, rushes into the fight, and dealing death all round him, is himself slain The Muslim general, who has not lost sight of the princess's wishes, tries to take him captive But the hero, invincible in death as in life, escapes him

The nurse brings Vīram's head to Delhi on a bier, and placing it on a gold salver, brings it to the heart-broken princess As she gazes at the face of her beloved, the head turns away from her the invincible Chohān hero even in death keeps his vow. Whereupon the princess laments thus

> My virtuous, handsome hero! Why are you so wroth? I am love-struck, my Sonagiri Chohān I am but your wife, with one life only separating us Why do you forget our love? My heart is broken Will you not hear me? You are gone to paradise, I will come with you [14]

Having worshipped her beloved's head, she jumps into the Yamunā to meet in the next world him whom she had missed in this (canto iv)

## VIII

Except where the demands of the conventional features of the *rāsa* take him out of his normal vein, the author is realistic He is perhaps the only one of the many writers of the period who has handled characters and events so well and truly The narrative is, on the whole, well sustained The Rajput and the Muslim warriors are depicted true to life, the former headstrong, firm, unflinching in matters where honour is concerned, neglectful of pru-

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14 सगुण सलूणा राउल! मणि रूसणु किस्यु ?
हू ता प्रेमगहेलडी तु सोनगिरु चहूआणजी
तु ता प्राणद माहरु, हु ता ताहरी घरि नारि जी;
जनम एक अतरि गयु सो नेहलु म वीसारी जी
हईयलडू घणु गहवडयू, तू सुणि न आह्मारा नाथ जी !
तु अमरापुरि साचरिउ, हु मरणि न मेहलु साथजी.

dence, fanatically heroic, the latter, deceitful, resolute, relentlessly cruel and determined on victory at any cost Only Pirojā, the daughter of the Sultan, is out of tune with the setting The characters do not lack individuality as do most of those found in the literature of the age The irate Sultan is not badly done Kānhadade, generous, charitable, beloved of his people, superstitious, is well depicted In him is revealed the real Rajput His son, though he occupies little space, is still a vivid figure and so is the old Brāhmana priest Mādhav, the 'direful spring of woes unnumbered', is also well drawn The poet portrays the actual situation in the India of the day Hindu princes, valiant and heroic, jealous of one another, fighting in isolated splendour, the Muslims, stern and relentless, advancing and campaigning as a collective body This *prabandha* is a rhapsody unique in Old or Modern Gujarāti throbbing with great and sustained heroism, an epic of a great age fast fading into oblivion, a swan-song of the Gujarāt of Siddharāja

JODHPURA
DESERT
JALORA
SIROHĪ
RANA OF KACCHA
PATANA
DUNGARPURA
VANSAVADA
KACCHA
LITTLE RANA OF KACCHA
AHMEDABAD
SŪNTHA
GODHRA
CĀMPĀNERA
NAVĀNAGARA
DVĀRKĀ
VADODARĀ
GANDHARA
JUNĀGADHA
NANDODA
SORATHA
BHARUCA
MANGROL
SURATA
NANDARBĀRA
PRABHĀSA
BAGLĀNA
GANADEVĪ
DIV
DHARAMPURA
DAMANA
VASĀĪ
MUMBĀĪ
DANDARĀJAPURĪ
(JANJIRA)
70
72
74
THE SULTANATE OF GUJARĀTA

CHAPTER III

# A NEW GUJARĀT AND THE PURĀNIC MOVEMENT

The Sultanate of Ahmedābād—Akbar—Marāthā raids—The Purānic influence—The new spirit among Brāhmanas—Impetus to the *desabhāshā*—Rāmānand—The purānika—The Gāgariā bhat—The *ākhyān* literature—Bhālan (c 1426 1500)—The *ākhyān* in his hands—*Kādambarī*—*Dasamaskandh*—Mantri Karman (1470)—Bhīm (c 1437)—Nākar (c 1550)

POLITICAL history from 1411 to 1707 had a negative influence on the literature of Gujarāt From 1411 to 1573 the country was ruled by the Sultans of Ahmedābād, from 1573 to 1707 it was a province of the Moghul Empire These facts circumscribed life, and brought into existence new literary traditions which not only ignored political conditions, but provided an easy way to forget them

I

In 1411 Ahmad Shah, the grandson of Muzafar Shah, transferred the capital of his kingdom from Pātan to Ahmedābād He was a fanatic, and his acts did not belie his bigotry He invaded Sorath, Mālwā and Konkan, but had to conciliate the Hindu landlords by giving them a fourth share of the villages His grandson, Mahmūd Begdā (1495-1513) was powerful both on land and sea, and consolidated the kingdom by annexing Junāgadh He built many of the monuments which have made Ahmedābād famous The Muslim historians narrate numerous anecdotes revealing his popularity with his people To the Hindus, however, one Sultan was as good, or as bad, as another

The next great Sultan was Begdā's grandson, Bahādur Shah (1527-1536), a great warrior who adopted an aggressive policy of conquest Gujarāt soon came to be divided into twenty-five *sarkārs* Ahmedābād, Sūntha, Godhrā, Chāmpāner, Vadodarā, Bharuch, Nāndod, and Surat, in the centre, Sirohī, Jhālor, Jodhpur and Nāgor in the north, Dungarpur, Vānsavādā, Nandarbār, Bāglān, and Dharam-

pur in the east, Dandarājapurī (modern Janjirā), Mumbāi (Bombay), Vasai (Bassein), and Daman in south, Sorath, Navānagar and Kachchha in the west. A territory slightly larger than what is linguistically the Gujarāt of to-day was a political unit under Bahādur Shah. His ambitious raids drew the wrath of Humāyun, the Mogul emperor, who overran Gujarāt in 1535. Bahādur soon recovered it, but he died the next year. Reckless as a ruler, he laid a heavy burden of military expenditure on the people and left them to the tender mercies of his revenue farmers. In 1573 Akbar annexed Gujarāt to his empire.

From 1411 to 1573, Gujarāt remained a political unit. The *khāns* and *amirs* swept across the country, made friends with Hindu chiefs and leaders as suited their immediate purpose, spread terror and destruction for a time, and were worsted by their rivals, or, sank into imbecility. During this period, the people enjoyed settled existence behind their castes, *mahājans* and *panchāyats* when sheltered by some Hindu chief or a wise Muslim chief. Social exclusiveness became the rule of the day, and life acquired an unprogressive and narrow outlook, mainly religious and other-worldly. And so it continued till the British came.

II

Of all the cultural and educational influences forged during the Gupta times, the Purānas were the most powerful. The *Mahābhārata,* including the *Harivamśa,* a complete cyclopaedia of culture, had attained the sanctity of a fifth *Veda* under the name of *Śatasāhasrīsamhitā*. The *Vāyu,* the *Matsya,* the *Mārkandeya,* the *Brahmānda,* and, perhaps, the *Devībhāgavata Purānas* had become very popular by the seventh century. The *Vishnu* (c. 600), the Purāna of the *Bhāgavata dharma* which the Imperial Guptas followed, exercised great influence over the minds of men. Other Purānas also came to be composed, till their traditional number stood at eighteen.

Literary men, for centuries, sought inspiration for subject and atmosphere from one or more of these Purā-

nas The tradition of mythic kings, the mythology connected with sacred places all over the country, stories and hymns glorifying gods and goddesses, and the ethics and the ritual—all this Purānic wealth had brought uniformity of belief, conduct and outlook to all who looked upon Bharatakhanḍa as their land, and Dharma as the law in this life and the means of salvation for the next It had created in the people a living sense of homogeneity, and of the continuity of Aryan tradition When the Muslims overran the country, the Purānas became, in the hands of the Brāhmanas, formidable instruments to preserve religion and culture The Purānic scheme of things had universal application A Hindu king had a place ready in the genealogy of the Sun or the Moon A recently elevated Brāhmana had a position ready in the family of a venerable Rishi of Vedic antiquity And the people had all the materials ready to bring up fresh generations in the traditions of Aryan life, to preserve the integrity of society, and to resist the proselytising vigour of the foreigner

And when the Brāhmanas found the fanatical foreigner —*mlechchha* as they called him—devastating their land, demolishing the sacred shrines of their faith, destroying their *dharma* and the social structure which they believed to be eternal, they developed miraculous adaptability They delivered to the masses, through the medium of their dialects, the message of the Purānas, and made the past live again The Purānic revival preserved society and culture, and directed literary energy into the channel of the *deśabhāshā* It spread over the whole country and opened up prospects for all Poets received fresh inspiration, *purāniks*, a new vocation, philosophers, a new orientation To the village saints, it gave something to live for, and it brought to the ordinary people, in the place of cumbrous ritual and abstruse doctrine, *bhakti*, a worship full of joy and song, dance and prayer Under its influence every province began to work out its cultural salvation and every language began to develop, and its literature assumed distinctive character

## III

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, one of the greatest of Indian reformers lent an active hand in spreading the different influences then at work. His life is shrouded in tradition, his creed is found only in the devotional songs composed by his disciples. Rāmānand, originally a follower of Rāmānuja, began his apostolic work in North India. He was an uncompromising advocate of purity of heart, and spread the worship of Rāma, the high-souled hero of the *Rāmāyana* and the seventh *avatār* of Vishnu. He protested against social and religious evils. The Vedas, Brāhmanas, rituals, inequalities of caste, the grossness of idolatry, and even Sanskrit came in for his iconoclastic zeal. He stood for God, humility, and equality of men.

His teachings proved very popular among the lower classes of Hindus and Muslims. His principal disciples included Kabīr, a spinner, Raidās, a tanner, Sen, a barber, Sadnā, a butcher, and Naraharidās, a Brāhmana. Kabīr, a Hindu brought up by a Muslim, was catholic in an age of orthodoxy, and his *padas*, songs, appealed equally to both communities. He created a great impression in Gujarāt and the *Kabīrpanth* gave rise to sects which claimed numerous adherents. Guru Nānak (1469-1555), the founder of Sikhism, was a disciple of Raidās, and the *Grantha Sāheb*, the sacred book of the sect, contains the only available *padas* of Rāmānand and Raidās. Naraharidās was the *guru* of Tulsīdās (1532-1623), the greatest of saint-poets of the age. The latter's *Rāmacharitamānas*, if judged by the number of men it has inspired, can be classed among the few supreme books in the literature of the world.

Rāmānand and his disciples wielded a great liberalising influence over their age. Even the orthodox Brāhmana was shaken out of his narrow religious groove, and could not but admire their tenets and revere the idealism for which the deity, Śrī Rāma, stood. They threw their weight against Sanskrit, and were the first unflinching champions of the language of the people. Kabīr's attack on the lovers of Sanskrit runs thus:

Paṇḍits talk in Sanskrit alone and dub those who used the *bhāshā* ignorant fools In the world, paṇḍits praise only Sanskrit But *bhakti* through the *bhāshā* alone gives strength and leads to salvation Sanskrit is the water of wells, *bhāshā* is running brook *Bhāshā* is loved by the true guru and shows the true way[1]

Rāmānand's influence in Gujarāt was widespread in the latter half of the fourteenth, and the fiteenth century It taught the learned not to spurn the lowly and the illiterate, but to work with and for them through the medium of their own language

## IV

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, we first come across definite literary landmarks of the Purānic movement in Gujarāt The *Bhāgavata,* Jayadeva's *Gītagovinda* and Bopadeva's *Harilīlāmrita,* works principally dealing with the amours of Śrī Krishna, had perceptibly altered the tone and language of the folk-songs relating to Rādhā-Krishna In 1416 Nrisimhāranyamuni composed *Vishnubhaktichandrodaya,* a work on *bhakti* In 1417 an inscription on Mount Giranār begins with a prayer to Dāmodara, 'the stealer of butter', referring to Śrī Krishna's well-known prank as a cowherd In 1499 Vāghelā Mokalasimha is recorded to have protected the members of the Bhāgavata sect

Paṇḍits were rare, and the knowledge of Sanskrit was restricted to a select class Among the intellectual and well-to-do classes, there was naturally a craving for literature, and, from the beginning of the fifteenth century, poets worked through the medium of Old Gujarātī to satisfy it But their language has been transformed out of recognition Manuscripts of some of their works, recovered so far, have been written years after the author's death In many cases, the works were handed down from generation to generation by professional reciters of the

1 सस्कृतहिं पडित कहै, बहुत करै अभिमान,
भाषा जानि तरक करै, ते नर मूढ अजान.
सस्किरत ससार में, पंडित करै बखान,
भाषा भक्ति दृढावही, न्यार पद निरबान
सस्किरत है कूपजल, भाषा बहता नीर,
भाषा सतगुरु सहित है, सतमत गहिर गँभीर

Purānas, or *purāniks,* and every reciter went on making such changes in their form, language and substance as the occasion and the taste of his audience required The *gāgariā bhat,* who preserved most of these works in the form of *ākhyāns,* was the greatest sinner in this respect

The *gāgariā bhat,* or *mān bhat,* is peculiar to Gujarāt, and has played a great part in the evolution and preservation of this class of literature He is the popular counterpart of the *purānik,* who, generally well-read in Sanskrit, recites the Purānas from the original to a select audience at his own house, or at the house of his patron The *purānik*, more often than not maintains the dignity of learning and enjoys the position of a friend in his patron's family But the *gāgariā bhat* is rarely acquainted with Sanskrit, he knows only the *ākhyāns,* or the Purānic episodes in Gujarātī verse which he has learnt from his teacher during his apprenticeship He goes from place to place with a couple of disciples His stock-in-trade is his *ākhyāns,* his tact, and his *mān* or *gāgar,* a large copper pot with a narrow neck from which he gets his name

Wherever he happens to be, he opens his session at night on some temple-door or verandah before a public square With his nimble fingers loaded with brass rings, he starts playing upon the *gāgar* as on a hand-drum, and makes the pot resound with his skilful raps The neighbourhood flocks to hear the *kathā,* as the Purānic recital is called, the public square in front and the windows of the surrounding houses are turned into an auditorium for the occasion The *bhat* recites an *ākhyān,* explains many parts of it, adds a flourish here, a touch there, to move or tickle the audience, improvises new stories and introduces lively anecdotes The audience sits, hour after hour, absorbed in the recital The description of a Purānic incident or character, in the mouth of a competent *bhat,* assumes a fresh form and contemporary colour At an interesting point in the recital the *bhat* stops, and wants to know who among his listeners will provide his next day's dinner, and, unless he is ignorant of the rudiments of his art, he is sure to receive invitations from more than one hospitable townsman Having made sure of the

morrow, he proceeds with the *kathā* till after midnight, sometimes till the early hours of the morning The session continues for a month, sometimes, longer, its length, as a rule, depends upon the *bhat's* ability to attract a good audience, and upon the hospitable nature of the locality After the session is over, the *bhat* is feasted, carried in a procession through the town, and presented with a purse as a send-off

The *bhats* flourished in Gujarāt for more than five hundred years, but have fallen on evil days with the advent of the press, the theatre, and the cinema They provided free entertainment and education, religious and secular and helped to preserve Purānic literature But these poets were scarcely qualified to reproduce the spirit, the art, or the idealism of the original Purānas, and were mostly content with mechanical repetition of narrative verses handed down from teacher to disciple Their range of emotion, sentiment and thought was limited, their language, suited to an illiterate audience, lacked refinement and expressiveness Sometimes, only a Bhālan or a Premānand could break the monotony by a word-picture of contemporary life, or by a charming song full of homely sentiments

But the service which the *gāgariā bhat* rendered to culture was immense

> He considered himself the heir of ancient Aryan culture, of a civilization, pure and incomparable, brilliant with heroic exploits, beautiful literature, undefiled ideals He was prepared to arrest the growth of alien culture His ears heard the music of the inspiring past His eyes were fixed on coming victory He opened the flood-gates of his soul, he sang of his hereditary culture He inspired *pāthsālās,* he offered prayers from village to village, he recited *kathās* from street to street, he made his songs popular in every home He kept alive religion and a sense of historic continuity He preserved language, literature, inspiration, and ideals And, thanks to him, the immortal spirit of the culture, breaking the bonds of political subjection, triumphed in the land [2]

This literature took the form of an *ākhyān* In form, it was a *rās,* but the narrative parts were brief, the arrangement more systematic, and the language more in-

2 Munshi, *Adi Vachano,* (Guj) 24

fluenced by Sanskrit In substance, it presented an independent literary composition based mainly on a free rendering of an *akhyāyikā* from the Purānas, supplemented by portions borrowed from other sources or composed by the author himself

## V

Bhālan may be called the father of the *ākhyān* He was a Moḍh Brāhman by caste, a resident of Pātan His date, tentatively fixed between 1426 and 1500, is yet uncertain and may be later The incidents of his life, which enthusiastic admirers have unearthed, do not appear to have any reliable foundation But his works show that he was a good student of the epics and the Purānas in the original

In one of his works, he says

> Men of sentiment, who are fond of the Purānas, desire to hear them, but their desire remains unfulfilled Bhālan has, therefore, composed this poem in *bhāshā*

He appears to have supplied a growing need, and, on his own admission, evoked considerable antagonism from those who found his method undignified for a *purānik* of learning He started life as a devotee of Śiva, but later, as his works show, he fell under the influence of the Rāmānandī sect and transferred his allegiance to Śrī Rāma He left two sons, Uddhav and Vishnudās, both of whom, following in his footsteps with far less ability and equipment, have left parts of the *Rāmāyana*

His early works were mere renderings of the *ākhyāyikās* But, later, he borrowed the episodes from several sources, pruned or altered them, and added fresh materials to produce a new work He also travelled outside the Purānic field to compose a *rās* on Bāna's *Kādambarī* In works presumably composed during his last days, the *ākhyān* reached an advanced stage of evolution It was a Gujarātī *ākhyāyikā* With contemporary sentiments, and the Purānic plot and characters altered to suit them, it became a new and distinct literary form

His *Harasamvāda* gives the episode from the *Śiva Purāna,* wherein Pārvatī, jealous of Gangā whom Śiva had

harboured in his matted locks, tries to win back the love of the god by assuming the guise of a forest-girl *Mrigī-ākhyān,* from the same Purāna, describes a hunter, who, unconsciously worshipping Śiva, obtains religious merit and goes to heaven These, and *saptaśati* borrowed from the *Mārkandeya Purāna,* may be classed among his early works They follow the original closely, relieved only by an occasional gleam of contemporary sentiment

The deer in *Mrigī-ākhyāna,* when his mate is killed, addresses the hunter in a manner which does credit to the sentiments of the poet and to the atmosphere which permitted their expression

> With cunning skill, you slew my lovely bride, before my own eyes Shame upon him who lives, when the mistress of his soul is dead! Without my bride, life has no aim, the world is desolate Without her, my house and garden are lonely as the abodes of the dead She was my support in trouble, I had no better friend

Parallelisms of this nature were quite common in the literature of the period, and were employed by the poet with great effect

## VI

To the next period of Bhālan's literary activity belongs *Kādambarī,* perhaps the best of his works It is an adaptation of Bāna's great work, carefully abridged with an eye to acceptable literary presentation This work of Bhālan is the best *rās* in the language, perhaps the most artistic and sustained composition, not even excepting the *ākhyāns* of Premānand It has all the good features of a *rās,* but without the loose structure, the monotonous descriptions, the ever-recurring didactic passages and the ill-concealed religious purpose which destroy the unity and charm of many of them Some of the beauties of the original work are brought out with great skill in a language not possessing the wealth or elegance of Sanskrit

From the wealth of Bāna, Bhālan chooses what his art and audience require, and presents it with the freedom of a master in the art of literary expression At places the poem is word-perfect Bhālan's description of the Achchhoda lake is a delightful picture painted with the help of

a few of the great phrases from Bāna's elaborate masterpiece The little parrot's tale of how it preserved life after its parents had been killed by the hunter, is one of the many passages in which the poet has given to a translation the charm of an original The parrot finally says

> King! What can I say? Nothing is so dear as life Otherwise, how could I forget my dead father in the very moment in which I suffered so terrible a blow? No one could be so heartless as I I forgot all gratitude He had denied himself food to give it me, had kept me by his side with loving care, had brought me up under great hardship But I forgot all grief at the loss of my parents and tried to save my life Who could be so callous?
>
> King, I was so tired that I could not even walk The way was difficult to tread, my body was covered with dust, I was wretched, my feet tottered with fatigue I longed for death, but it did not come My sight was blurred, my heart trembled, my mind stood still Thirst made me miserable, but water was far way King! I stumbled at every step [3]

At another place, the poet graphically describes how the women of the royal palace exchange remarks about one another They are typically Gujarātī Additions in the interest of realism are also made at appropriate places without impeding the flow of the poem

Bhālan is the great artist in the language for portraying parental and domestic feelings The maid describes to Tārāpīda his queen's yearning for a child in words full of grace and feeling

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3 राय! घणू शू कहीइ कथी? प्राण समू काइ वाहालू नथी,
नहितरि ततक्षण मुउ तात, ते सवि वीसारी मि वात,
तेह वेदना दारूण सही, मुझ समु को निष्ठुर नहीं!
भूख्या रही जिणि दीधू भक्ष, पाल्यु सनेह करी समक्ष,
ने दोहिलि ऊछेरु अपार, ते मुझ वीसरिउ उपकार!
जननी जनक गया परलोक, ते मि वीसार्यु सवि शोक,
देह राखवा कर्यु उपाय; कोई दुष्ट मुझ सरखु? राय!
श्रात थका मि नवि हींडाय, विषम वाट, तनु धूलि भराय,
दुखातुर अति थाका चरण, घणू इ वाछू नावि मरण
आवि अधारू लोचन, धूजि रिदि, न चालि मन,
पीडि पिपासा; वेगलू वारि, ढली ढली पडूरा, तिणि ठारि.

While talking, "Oh King', she says "Life is wasted I never kissed a child of mine, never pressed it close to my heart I never saw the smiling face of a son, beautiful with two tiny teeth looking up to me as I fed him with milk Never did I hear, with joyful heart, anklets jingling on his feet as he stumbled along on his toes Oh! What shall I do now? I shall never see him return from school, ink-pot and writing-board in hand, running up to me, clinging to me with the word 'Mama' My heart longs for a mother's joy, but the longing will never be fulfilled"[4]

But this work, which modern students of the literature appreciate, does not appear to have evoked contemporary enthusiasm or to have been a subject of imitation

*Nalākhyān*, which followed, was similar in technique The *Mahābhārata*, Śrīharsha's *Naishadhīya* and Trivikrama's *Nalachampū* have been laid under contribution to produce a short *ākhyān* on the episode of Nala and Damayantī Though the execution of this work is decidedly inferior to that of *Kādambarī*, it was the original of many subsequent copies

VII

His other works are *Rāmavirah* and *Rāmabālacharit* from the *Rāmāyana*, *Jālandharākhyān* from the *Padma Purāna*, *Durvāsākhyān* from the *Mahābhārata*, *Dhruvākhyān*, *Krishnavishti*, *Krishnabāla-charit*, and the *Daśamaskandh* from the *Bhāgavata* which incorporates *Rukminiharan*, and *Satyabhāmāvivāh* also

Bhālan made a free use of *garabīs* in the works dealing with Śrī Krishna's life, and invested them with charm of

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4 वात करती एम कहि, 'मिथ्या गयु ए काल।
हृदि शू चाप्यु नहीं, चुबन देई बाल।।
नाहाना नाहाना दत्त बि, नि सुादर मुखनु वान।
पुत्र हसतु नहीं दीठु, करावता पयपान।।
चरण वागि घूघरी, अगुली वलगु जाय।
ए सुख हू पामी नहीं! हवि करू किशु उपाय।।
नेसालीथी भणी आवि, पाटी खडिउ हाथि।
आइ! कही बोलावतु धरि बाल घालि बाथि।।
ए ऊरिउ वीतु नहीं, जे पुत्रमाता नाम ।
एणी पिरि मनि दुख आणि नित्य परति, स्वामि।।

language and delicacy of sentiment  The models furnished by him were copied by all later poets, including Dayārām, and gave to *garabī* its distinctive form  The following *garabī* is still popular for the homely charm with which it describes the feelings of Jasodā, Śrī Krishna's foster-mother

> Come home, darling Mavajī! I will give you milk and rice with a loving hand  You have grown rich since you went to Mathurā, and powerful too  But, believe me, none loves you more than I do  Devakī herself will not hold you more fondly in her arms than I held you in mine when nursing you  Her body will never be as mine was then, all quivering with rapture
>
> Alas! I am your nurse, not your mother, you know it now  I know it  I know why you are wroth  I tied your hands when you stole butter  Yes, and I did not jump after you in the Kālindī, you remember it still, you owe me a grudge for it  None else can win love, and forget it so lightly as you  Raghunāth! Lord of Bhālan! Do remember your love for me, short-lived though it was

The poet deserves a high place in literature as the pioneer of the new tradition, which, through *ākhyāns*, gave Gujarāt a new literature  Many authors have worked upon his *ākhyāns*, but none, except Premānand, has improved upon them  His style is expressive and elegant  He knew the art both of translation and adaptation  As we read him, we note the remarkable change which two centuries, between Someśvara and Bhālan, had wrought

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5 मीठडा मावजी रे, मारे मदिर आवो;
प्रेमे पीरसुं परमानद, कुर ने दूध शीरावो
मथुरा रिद्धि पाम्या घणी, वाध्यु छे अति तेज रे;
सही जाणजो मारा सरखु, को नहिं आणे हेज
धवरावीने हैडे चांपती, त्यम देवकी नहि चापे रे,
रोमाचित मारी देहडी थाती, त्यम तेनी नव कापे.
माता नहिं थाउ तमारी, धाव कहीने जाणो रे;
में बाध्यो जे माखण माटे, तेणे रोष भराणो.
कालिंदी माहे तम उपर, जे हुं नव झपावी रे;
जाणु छु ते वात सभारी, रीस मनमाहे आवी.
ते कीधो त्यम कोय दे नहिं, प्रीत करीने छेह रे;
भालणप्रभु रघुनाथ संभारो, एक घडीनो नेह

Style, verse, outlook, all had changed, and so also the literary quality

The next poet whose work is available, Mantri Karman (c 1470), a Vanik by caste, has left a poem, *Sitāharan*, which is poor in style Bhīm, a Moḍh Brāhman of Siddhapur, composed some *ākhyāns* and a work entitled *Harililāshodaśakalā* (c 1484) borrowed from the *Harilīlāmrita* of Bopadeva The movement spread fast Poets from different parts of Gujarāt composed similar *ākhyāns*, using the *Bhāgavata*, the *Rāmāyana* and the *Saptaśati* for their models Keśav Hriderām, a Kāyasth of Pātan (c 1536), composed *Daśamaskandh*, a version of 10th canto of the *Bhāgavata*[6] A voluminous writer was Nākar (c 1550), a Deśāval Vanik of Baroda, who attempted a rendering of some parts of the *Mahābhārata* He was unable to follow the original Sanskrit even with Bhālan's fidelity Many of the Brāhman authors were *gāgariā bhats* by profession

6 c 1473 originally assigned to him appears to need reconsideration.

CHAPTER IV

# BHAKTI MĪRĀN AND NARASIMH MAHETĀ

*Bhakti*—The evolution of the Krishna cult *Bhāgavata* and *bhakti*—Its philosophic background—The Ālvārs—Āchāryas—Chaitanya—Mirān (c 1550)—As a *bhakta*—As a poetess—Vallabha sect—Its influence in Gujarāt—Gopāldās (c 1570)—Narasimh Mahetā (1500-1580)—His life—His struggles—His works, *Hāramālā* — *Sāmalasā-no vivāh* — *Sringāramālā* — *Rāsa Sahasrapadī*—*Suratasangrāma*—His *Padas*—His Surrender to God—His place in literature—Note A The date of Narasimh Mahetā

IN the fourteenth century, the classics and the philosophies receded into the background Even the Purānas by themselves did not meet the requirements of the people And the cult of *bhakti* became the most potent factor in the Purānic movement, stimulating an intensely devotional attitude towards the gods and particularly Śri Krishna

## I

Śrī Krishna was the first to become the centre of a great devotional impulse He occupies the highest place in the Indian pantheon, in poetry, the supreme love, in religion, he is God himself, and in philosophy, the all-pervading Over-soul, *Parabrahman* He is the One who delivered the message of the *Bhagavadgītā,* the most popular and profound scripture in a land of conflicting scriptures, which has inspired the life and thought of great Indians from Śankara to Tilak, Shri Aravinda and Mahatma Gandhi, among the moderns He has fired the imagination of almost every Indian poet since the *Bhāgavata* was composed (c 8th century) And as the very embodiment of triumphant manhood, he has brought inspiration and solace to millions for centuries

In the *Rigveda,* Vishnu, the Sun-god, was the omniscient, *trivikramo viśvasya,* and Varuna, the Sky-god, was the king of heavens, *bhuvanasya rājā* Later *Aitareya Brāhmana* elevated Vishnu to the position of the greatest of gods, and the Vedic myths connected with other gods

were transferred to him *Taittirīya Āranyaka* identified him with Nārāyana, an ancient Rishi, who, as an incarnation of Vishnu, was worshipped by a sect known as Pāñcharātra When the original edition of the *Bhagvadgītā* was composed, Srī Krishna the Yādava hero had already been accepted as the *avatār* of Vishnu who had revealed his macrocosmic form (*virāta-svarūpa*) to Arjuna All these different attributes came to be transferred to one deity, the god Vāsudeva, whose worship was common even in the days of the grammarian Pānini (c 50 B C) Bhagâvān Vāsudeva's devotees came to be known as Bhāgavatas, such a one was Heliodoros, the ambassador of a Greek king, who came to India (c 200 B C) The Gupta emperors were styled *Mahābhāgavatas,* the great devotees of Bhagavān, and the worship of Vishnu and his spouse Lakshmī was popular in the Gupta period

The Vaishnava mystics and saints known as Ālvārs were the apostles of *bhakti* before the rise of Śankara (*c* 800), who refers to the worship of Parabrahma in the form of Bhagavān Vāsudeva The *Vishnu Purāna* had for its object the glorification of Vishnu as Vāsudeva The God was great, the devotee, weak and helpless and prayed to his Master with humility

This *bhakti* was invested with all the attributes of earthly love Nārada, in his *Bhaktisūtra,* defines it as of the nature of intense love Śāndilya, in his *Bhaktisūtra,* explains it to be attachment towards god, which, as amplified by the commentator, means love 'characterized by horripilation and other signs of worldly love, like the love felt by Śakuntalā for Dushyanta' The new *bhakti* was an emotion which impelled the *bhakta,* the devotee, to worship the Lord, to seek him everywhere, to yearn for him, to quarrel with him, to remove the distance which reverence implies, in short, to love him passionately as one would a human lover This new emotion led the national imagination, before *c* 800, to create Rādhā, a bride for Śrī Krishna, more human and lovable than the majestic Lakshmī or Rukminī of the Purānas In *Dhvanyāloka* (*c* 850) she shares the incense with Krishna,

about 980 she is mentioned as his spouse in an inscription of king Amoghavarsha of Dhārā

In the *Bhāgavata Purāna,* composed sometime between *c* 600 and *c* 800, prominence is given to the intense lovability of Krishna as a superb child, youth lover, statesman and seer, being God Himself This was an epoch-making work, it soon acquired predominant influence in the country, as much through its being the gospel of the new emotion as by its rare literary charm Its sentiments and turns of expression were soon carried to the doors of every villager by the *purānikas* in all provinces Pure *bhakti* is beautifully expressed in the *Bhāgavata*

As the wingless nestlings wait for the mother, as the hungry calves long to be suckled, as the love-lorn damsel waits for her lover, so, lotus-eyed, does my mind yearn for thee To hear about Vishnu, to sing of Him, to remember Him, to fall at His feet, to worship Him, to bow to Him, to serve Him, to be His friend, to dedicate oneself to Him, is the nine-fold *bhakti*

To the *gopīs,* (says Krishna), the nights when I, their lover, went about with them in Vrindāvana were like flitting moments, but when I left them their nights were endless as cycles In this way, hundreds who knew not My real Self loved Me only as their Lover, and attained to Me, the *Parabrahman* [1]

Thus the Purānic movement, leavened by *bhakti,* captured the religious thought and sentiment of the age

## II

Long before the tenth century *bhakti* had taken hold of the South Temples had been raised to Vishnu and Sankarshana The twelve Vaishnava mystics and saints, known as Ālvārs, were wandering singers 'mad after God' One of them was a king, another a beggar, a third a woman, a fourth an untouchable According to the *bhakti* of Nārāyana which they followed and taught, God was accessible by intense love and complete self-surrender, to all, irrespective of rank or caste or even culture Their devotional songs became popular under the name of the *Vaishnava veda,* the 'Sriptures of the Vishnu cult'

1 *Bhāgavata P*, VI 11 26, VII 5 23-24, XI 12 11-13

After the Ālvārs came the Āchāryas, who gave it a philosophic basis. In *c.* 1000, Yāmunāchārya propounded the doctrine of *prapatti*, surrender to God, his great-grandson Rāmānuja, who succeeded him, gave a complete philosophic back-ground to the movement, and elevated it to the level of a monotheistic religion. The influence of the *Bhāgavata*, after the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata* the most potent source of inspiration in India, led to the foundations of different schools of *bhakti* under five great saints. These great philosopher-saints, by their learning, devotion and dialectic skill, founded new schools of thought, and the linguistic and intellectual unity which Sanskrit imparted made it easy for them to introduce a new outlook in the religious and moral life of India. To them we owe the ubiquity of Krishna-consciousness in the country. About 1150 Nimbārka founded a new school in Telangana stressing the pure *bhakti* of Śrī Krishna and Rādhā. "We worship", says he, "Rādhā, the daughter of Vrishabha, the goddess who joyfully adorns the left lap of the great deity Śrī Krishna, as beautiful as Śrī Krishna himself, surrounded by thousands of damsels. She it is who fulfils all desires." Madhva (*c.* 1199-1278) laid the foundation of a yet more vigorous Vaishnava cult.

Vishnusvāmi, said to be a teacher of Jñāneśvara and accepted by Vallabha as his *guru*, appears to be a powerful teacher-saint of the Rādhā-Krishna cult though little is known about him. The Mahārāshtra School of *bhakti*, however, headed by Jñāneśvara, Nāmdev, Eknāth and later Tukārām worship Krishna and his spouse Rukminī. Their *bhakti* has for its symbol the pure and serene love of the husband and wife (*kānta bhāva*), not the temptations of love of Krishna and Rādhā (*madhura bhāva*). Chaitanya was as much the producer of *bhakti* as of the latest Buddhistic influences in Bengal.

In the tenth century, decadent Buddhism under the influence of Kāhna Bhatta, a great scholar and poet of Bengal, preached illicit love and complete bodily and mental surrender to the teacher as the only way to emancipation. The Rādhā-Krishna romance had already obtained a hold over the popular mind through folk-songs and

festivals  Both these currents combined to strengthen the *bhakti* of Śrī Krishna  Umāpati, in the eleventh century, and Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda*, in the twelfth, wrote highly artistic and sensuous poems of Śrī Krishṇa  The linguistic, rhythmic and sentimental graces of *Gitagovinda* caught the imagination of all *bhaktas* in the country, and within a century of its composition, it was recognised as a classic

In the fourteenth century, Navadvīpa (Nadia), the ancient centre of learning in Bengal where later Bhuddhist monks had preached love as the only avenue leading to Nirvāna, rang with the passionate love-songs of one of the greatest of Indian poets, Chandīdās  This learned and pure Brāhmana belonged to the Sahajiā Sect  Following its tenets, which required a seeker after salvation to love a low-caste married woman, he had given his heart to a washer-woman, Rāmī  Chandīdās was persecuted for this love, but, for the sake of the woman to whom he addressed his immortal love-songs, he endured every form of persecution  "You are religion, you are my parents  You are my threefold worship  You are the Vedas, the Gāyatrī  You are the goddess of speech, Sarasvatī, and Pārvatī," thus he expressed his yearning for Rāmī  He composed *kīrtans*, ostensibly religious, which told only the tale of his undying passion

With these lyrics eternally ringing in his ears, Mādhavendrapurī, a *sanyāsin* from Bengal and a disciple of Madhva, came to Vrindāvan near Mathurā  The sacred groves, where once Śrī Krishna had made love to Rādhā, were the most active centres of the *bhakti* cults  The *bhaktas*, the teachers and thousands of devotees came there every year from all parts of India generation after generation, and so also came there Mādhavendra to meet his lover, Śrī Krishna  On the banks of the Yamunā, in the groves hallowed by divine romance, the learned *sādhu* wandered like a maiden in love, singing songs, seeking his love  This *bhakta* founded there a temple which attracted Bengālī *bhaktas*  He died in *c* 1485 leaving a number of disciples including Īśvarpurī

A few years later Īśvarpurī initiated into the mysteries of *bhakti* Nimāi, a young, brilliant, strong-headed pandit from Nadiā who had come to Gayā to perform his father's obsequies Nimāi, one of the most notable lovers in history, heard Mādhavendra's gospel and straightway fell in love with Śrī Krishna "Leave me", he said, "I am not of the world I will go to Vrindāvan and meet my Lord" He gave up the world to become a *sanyāsin,* and went about like one mad calling upon his Lord He wandered all over India in search of Vaishnavas A stern ascetic and a profound scholar, he prayed and sang to his Lover, quivering with emotion like a heart-broken girl Nimāi, better known as Chaitanya or Lord Gaurānga, soon became the living embodiment of *bhakti* He revolutionised Vaishnavism

Chaitanya longed to see Vrindāvan become the centre of the *bhakti* cult In *c* 1510 Lokanāth, his follower, founded the headquarters of the Chaitanya sect in the holy grove In *c* 1516 two Muslim noblemen became converts to Hinduism, accepted him as their teacher, and took charge of the temple These two, Rūpa and Sanātana, and their more eminent nephew, Jīva Gosāin, made Vrindāvan a living centre of *bhakti* and learning Under the influence of the Vrindāvan school, *bhakti* flooded the country To love Śrī Krishna with the undying passion of a bride became a national religion

Thus *bhakti* grew into the most creative force in the country, bringing joy to every home and re-vitalising the Aryan culture

The new *bhakti* impulse spread from Vrindāvan into Gujarāt in the sixteenth century, and, perhaps, the two greatest *bhakti* poets of Gujarāt, Mīrānbāī and Narasimh Mahetā, were influenced by the *sādhus* and *bhaktas* of this sect

## III

Mīrānbāī, the greatest poetess of Western India, was a grand-daughter of Rao Dudājī, chief of Medtā, a small principality in Rājputāna [1] She was born about the year

1 Another theory makes her a queen of Kumbhā Rānā of Chītoḍ, placing her between 1403 and 1470

1500, and her grand-father, a devout Vaishnava, influenced her mind from her earliest years  She was married to Bhojarāj, the son of Rānā Sangha of Chītod, but he died *c* 1517  In 1532, Sangha's younger son, Vikram, came to the throne of Chītod, which was then suffering from the after-effects of Sangha's unsuccessful war with Babar, the founder of the Mogul empire

The widowed princess forgot the world in the worship of Krishna  Surrounded by *sādhus* and *bhaktas*, she prayed incessantly, singing devotional songs composed by herself  Her association with *sādhus* offended the Rānā's sense of propriety, and he tried to put a stop to it by persecution  But Mīrān's attitude was unyielding

> Girdhar Gopāl is mine, and none else  I have left mother, father, and brother, in company of saints, I have lost all sense of shame  I run to welcome saints, I weep, looking at the world  I have reared an immortal creeper of *bhakti*, watering it with tears of love  The thing has gone forth, every one knows it  Mīrān, the slave of Girdhar, says, what was to happen has happened [2]

And in one of her beautiful *padas* she addresses the Rānā thus

> Rānājī! What can I do? My love for Krishna is eternal  Rānā of Mevāḍ! What can I do? I am so tempted  My heart is at peace only when I worship my Rāma, otherwise, I cannot even sleep  The double rosary on my neck is to me a lovely ornament  How can I forget my Lord, my bride-groom in all my past lives?

The Rānā even made an attempt to kill her  Rājput standards had condemned her as a disgrace to the family  In her waking hours, she was a love-lorn cowherdess, beloved of her Lover, living in the imaginary world of Vrindāvan

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2 अब तो मेरा गिरधर गोपाल, दूसरा न कोइ
माता छोडी पिता छोडे, छोडे सगा भाइ,
साधुसग बेठ बेठ लोकलाज खोइ
सत देख दोड आइ,
प्रेम आसु डाल डाल, अमरवेल बोइ.

. . . . . . . .

अब तो बात फेल गइ, जाने सब कोइ,
दास मीरा लाल गिरधर, होनी सो होइ

No one knows the pain I feel No, none The wounded and the suffering alone know the plight of the wounded Like a fish, I am dying for water I lie on a bed made of thorns Mīrān's pain will cease only when the physician, Śāmalā, Dark One, comes[3]

Krishna is a living lover to her She visits Vrindāvan and yearns to see him She hears the flute as its notes rise to the sky He stops her on the way, taking the toll of curds as from other *gopīs* She plays with him, dances the *rāsa* with him She pines away, she is reminiscent "I am mad with love and no one knows it" She is fascinated with Krishna's face

I love your face Enchanting one, I love your face I saw your face and the world has become repulsive My mind has been different since then

Her longing is acute

Kānhudā does not know of my love—my virgin love for Him We went to fetch water from the Jumnā, he sprayed us with water there And the spray was all about us

The Beloved held a *rāsa* in Vrindāvan, he pulled off the raiment of sixteen hundred *gopīs* And the raiment was torn to shreds

Kānā! I am mad after you, you have shot your arrows at me, and the arrows have pierced me through and through.

Bai Mīrān says Lord Girdhar, Kānhuḍā, has burnt her to death, He has thrown her ashes from a high hill And the ashes are flying about on all sides[4]

Again she sings

My Girdhar, my Lover, my beloved handsome Dark One! Do not forsake us You have gone to dwell in Mathurā, but do not be cruel

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3 दर्द ना जाने मेरा कोइ रे, मेरा कोइ
घायलकी गत घायल जाने, जा शिर बीती होइ
जल विना जेसी मछलीही तलपे, सो गत मेरी होइ
सूलि उपर सेज हमारी, तापर रहेवु सोइ
मीराको दु.ख जब मीटेगी, बैद शामरो वोही

4 कानुडे न जाणी मोरी पीर, बाइ हुं तो बाळकुवारी रे—कानुडे०
जल रे जम ना अमे पाणीडां गया'ता वाहाला, कानुडे उडाडयां आछा नीर;
उडया फरररररररर रे—कानुडे०
वृदारे वनमां वा'ले रास रच्या छे, सोळसे गोपीना ताण्या चीर,
फाटया चररररररररर रे—कानुडे०
हु वरणागी काहाना तमारा रे नामनी रे, कानुडे मार्यां छे अमने तीर;
वाग्यां अरररररररर रे—कानुडे०
बाई मीरां के प्रभ गिरधर नागर, कानुडे बाळीने फेंकी उचे गिर;
राख उडे फरररररररर रे—कानुडे०

Your flute is still heard, its echoes are about us Without you the pathways of Vraja are hateful

So many stories are told about her that it is difficult to ascertain the facts But one of her *bhajans* sums up her adventures

Govinda is my soul The world repels me, I love only my Rāmajī —I know no other Saints devoted to Hari live in the palace of Mīrān Hari lives aways from the deceitful, but He lives beside my saints

Rāṇājī sends a letter Go, and give it into the hands of Mīrān "Leave off the company of *sādhus,* come and live with me"

Mīrānbāī sends a reply Go, and give it into the hands of Rāṇājī "Let go your throne and kingdom, come and live with my *sādhus*"

Rāṇā sends a cup of poison Go, and give it into the hands of Mīrān Mīrān drank it as if it were nectar, the Lord of the Universe protected her

'Camelman' Get the camel ready I have to go a hundred *kosas* It is sinful even to take water in the kingdom of the Rāṇā" Mīrān left Mevād and went to the west She gave up all, for her mind was not with the world

Mīrān is the beloved of Hari, she lives in the service of His saints She likes the company of the holy, her heart is away from that deceitful person [6]

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5 बलिहारि रसिया गिरधारी, सुदर श्याम हो, तजी अमने मथुराना वासी
आवा न बनी ए जी
बासलडी वागी वहाला भणकारा वागे छे,
व्रजवाट लागे खारी

6 गोविन्दो प्राण अमारो रे, मने जग लाग्यो खारो रे,
मने मारो रामजी भावे रे, बीजो मारी नजरे न आवे रे
मीराबाईना महेलमा रे, हरि सतननो वास,
कपटीथी हरि दूर वसे, मारा सतन केरी पास
राणोजी कागळ मोकले रे, दो राणी मीरांने हाथ,
साधुनी सगत छोडी द्यो, तमो वसोने अमारे साथ
मीराबाई कागळ मोकले रे, देजो राणाजीने हाथ;
राजपाट तमे छोडी राणाजी, वसो साधुने साथ
विषनो प्यालो राणे मोकल्यो रे, देजो मीराने हाथ;
अमृत जाणी मीरा पी गया, जेने सहाय श्री विश्वनो नाथ
साढवाळा साढ शणगारजे रे, जावु सो सो रे कोश,
राणाजीना देशमा रे मारे, जळ रे पीधानो दोष.
डाबो मेल्यो मेवाड रे, मीरा गई पश्चिम माय,
सरव छोडी मीरा नीसर्यां, जेनु मायामा मनडु न काय.
मीरा हरिनी लाडणी रे, रहेती सत हजूर,
साधु सगाते स्नेह घणो, पेला कपटीथी दिल दूर.

Thus Mīrān came to live at Dvārakā in Kāthiāwād After her departure, Chītod fell on evil days Its throne changed hands at short intervals Ultimately, the ruling prince traced its misfortunes to Mīrān's departure from Chītod, and begged her to come back Mīrānbāī declined to return, but the unfortunate prince wanted her back at any cost The Brāhmanas entered upon a fast in order to induce her to come Moved by this, Mīrān went into the temple to ask leave of her Lord, she did it with tears in her eyes, singing her songs, and as she sang, she was merged in the idol of her Lord (c 1547)

## IV

Mīrān is claimed by Gujarāt, Rajputāna and the whole of the Mathurā region and recently the Hindi speaking world as a Hindi poet But, during the century in which she lived there was only one language in these parts, Old Gujarātī or Old Western Rājasthānī, and it is no wonder that her *padas* are now found in all the different present day varieties of that language She has not left any long poem, a large number of the *padas* which bear her name are not authentic, but some definitely bear the impress of her pure, noble, and loving personality Her language is simple, and appealing

> She has only one thing to say, and in consequence, her range is limited Her poems have elegance and delicacy rather than variety Her heart is capable of deep feeling, but its expression is limited by her comparative ignorance Mīrān is not ego-centric, only intense not voluptuous, nor profound[7]

But passion, grace, delicacy, melody—Mīrān has all these gifts Her longing is exquisite, it seizes all hearts, penetrates all souls Her poetic skill possesses the supreme art of being artless Sometimes she brings natural beauty to aid sense and sound in producing harmony An untranslatable harmony characterizes the following

> The peacock's notes are shrill Rādhā! the peacock's notes are shrill Peacocks call, *bapaiyās* call *koels* sing, the sound fills the air Lightning glistens, dark clouds thunder Drizzling rain pours gently,

7 Lilavati Munshi, *Mīrānbāī—Eka Drishti*, (Guj )

and as I come to meet you the fringe of my *sāri* is wet Bāī Mīrān says, this is charm of my Lord Giridhar, My Lord has stolen my heart[8]

Mīrān's *padas*, some of which are *garabīs*,, have been very popular throughout Rajputāna and Gujarāt, and have considerably influenced the literature of succeeding periods

V

Yet another school of *bhakti* arose, known as *Rudra-sampradāya* or *Pushtimārga* Vallabāchārya Goswāmī, a Brāhmana from Telangana born in *c* 1479, who in early life was a follower of Vishnuswāmī, later founded his own school The Goswāmī repeatedly travelled all over India preaching his cult, and naturally came to Gujarāt He founded the shrine of Śrī Nāthajī in Vraja in *c* 1506 and died *c* 1531 Vallabha was a scholar more than a *bhakta* His aim was to found a compact sect on the basis of *bhakti* and it was carried out in practice by the initiate taking the vow to dedicate to Lord Śrī Krishna his body, senses, soul, heart and all its activities, as also his wife, house, family wealth and self

Vallabha's son, Vithalanāthajī, a *bhakta*, improved upon his father's doctrines His father, according to him, was not the slave of Śrī Krishna, but Śrī Krishna himself *Rāsalīlā*, in which Vallabha's sons played the part of young Krishna, became a predominant feature of the *Goswāmī's* existence

'The Āchārya was to be considered a husband of many wives and the centre of *rāsalīlā*, and one whose principal function was to dance the *rāsalīlā*'[9] The Sahajiā doctrine of self-surrender to the teacher was combined with *bhakti*, and the sect flourished on the degrading self-dedication of its adherents, both men and women, to a religious institu-

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8 बोले झीणा मोर, राधे तारा डुंगरिया पर बोले झीणा मोर
मोर ही बोले बपैया ही बोले, कोयल करे घनशोर राधे०
* * भली वीजली चमके, बादल हुवा घनघोर- राधे०
झरझर झरमर मेहुलो वरसे, भीजे मारा साळुडानी कोर राधे०
बाई मीराके प्रभु गिरधरना गुण प्रभुजी म्हारा चितडाना चोर राधे०

9 *Vithaleśaratnavivarana*, quoted in Munshi, *Thoḍānk Ras-darśano* (Guj ), p 207

tion, the heads of which claimed to be living Śrī Krishṇas. No doubt, some of the *goswāmīs* were learned and led irreproachable lives, and in playing the part they did, were merely systematising existing practices Thus the *rāsa* dance from a popular festival became a religious ceremony

Vithalanāthajī came to Gujarāt, founded several temples and acquired a large following He also inspired Suradāsa and other poets known as the *ashta chhāp* to compose *bhakti* poetry These poets, all of a very high order, were in a sense the founders of medieval Hindi and Vraja literature and influenced the whole literature of North India The grandson of Vallabha carried these principles to the logical extreme Later the practice of a devotee dedicating even his wife to the *āchārya* before marriage was consummated was inculcated That these theories did not remain innocent abstractions was proved in a case which came before the High Court of Bombay in 1862

In *c* 1570 we see the influence of this sect on Gujarātī literature in Gopāladās's *Vallabhākhyān* The enthusiastic worshipper looked upon the *goswāmī* as God and described his appearance and pomp with abject admiration This sect became very popular in Gujarāt, attracting many castes which followed Śaivism or Jainism Its music, *rāsas* and erotic literature opened a vista of joy before the people

## VI

In the sixteenth century, Narasimh Mahetā voices the new impulse of *bhakti* in Gujarāt At one time his date was taken as fixed between 1414 and 1480 Results of recent research point to his being placed later than 1500 [10] About the beginning of the seventeenth century his fame as a *bhakta* spread over all the provinces of India His life, works, and more particularly, the miraculous assistance which Śrī Krishna gave him from time to time fired popular imagination, and soon he became the centre of a new mythology of *bhakti* The first Gujarātī poet to sing of his life was Viśvanāth Jānī (1652)

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10 See Note A at the end of the chapter Vide, Munshi, *Narasaiyo-Bhakta Hari-no*, Introduction (Guj ), pp 49-82

NARASIMH MAHETA

Some incidents of his life are mentioned by the poet himself in works which are undoubtedly his own Narasimh, born in the village of Talājā near Junāgadh, was a younger son of one Krishnadās, a Vaḍnagar Nāgar by caste The Nāgars were, for centuries, the repositories of learning and orthodoxy, and their fierce exclusiveness was then at its height Narasimh lost his father early, and was left dependent on his elder brother He associated with itinerant *sādhus*, and was introduced by them to the mysteries of *bhakti* peculiar to Vrindāvan He sang, danced like a *gopī*, and began to look upon Śrī Krishna as a lover This conduct shocked his castemen who worshipped respectability no less than orthodoxy His betrothal was broken off But, after some time, another bride, Mānekbāī, was found for him

His brother's wife knew the fine art of hitting those who could not hit back, and Narasimh, by temperament incapable of making money, was made to lead a life of humiliation The poet confesses

My birth was in Talājā My brother's wife taunted me and called me a fool The word pierced me, I went into the forest and worshipped a phallus of Śiva which was lying unworshipped

Again, at another place he says, "My brother's wife said words which rankled in my mind" For seven days and nights the poor, helpless poet worshipped Gopanāth in a temple situated a few miles from Junāgadh, and at the end the mighty Śiva was propitiated The god took him to Dvārakā, where the poet saw, with his eyes 'in a fine frenzy rolling', Lord Krishna dancing his eternal *rāsalīlā* with the *gopīs* Humbly, he held the torch, while his Lord danced With the aid of a highly-strung imagination peopled with the fairy beings of *bhakti* literature, he achieved his heart's desire of establishing living contact with Śrī Krishna "I resolved," he says, "to sing daily of the joy which once I knew, and so tell the world what always lives in my heart" His heart full of love for his Lord, he went and thanked his brother's wife for the favour she had done him

Blessed are you, my brother's wife You spoke harsh words, and because of them, I saw the dance of the Lord of cowherds in Gokul, and the Lord of the earth embraced me

## VII

Narasimh left his brother's house, and set up a home of his own in a small, old house It is identified by tradition with a spot now known as *Narasimh Mahetā-no Choro* in Junāgadh Mānekbāī bore him a daughter, Kunvarbāī, and later a son, Śāmal The family was maintained by the generosity of the religious-minded in the town The poor poet was incorrigible To people who rebuked him for his habits, he humbly replied, "Such am I, verily such am I I am exactly such a one as you describe" He collected around him a few simple-hearted worshippers of Śrī Krishna, of both sexes He composed *padas* or *bhajans* mainly devotional, sometimes philosophic or ethical, very often descriptive of the amours of Rādhā and Krishna, and he spent his days and nights in singing them to the accompaniment of his *karatāl*[11] Ever happy and intoxicated with pure *bhakti*, he lived in an imaginary world, more real to him than the reality of worldly life

But the *bhakta* had to pay the penalty of belonging to a caste composed of the fastidious Kunvarbāī married and bore a child, and her father had to give her husband's people presents by way of *mosālā* Then, Śāmal had to be married All these ceremonials and social occasions meant money, and the poor Mahetā owned nothing but his *karatāls*, his poor saintly companions, and his unalterable faith in Śrī Krishna Nāgarīs laughed at the penniless fool who believed that his God would help him But someone always came forward with timely assistance for the godly man Assistance so rendered came to be regarded miraculous, and the miracles were sung by later poets with faith and feeling

Narasimh was not a fool, and not merely a poet His life was inspired by a great philosophy His heart went out to all men equally, and he sought every opportunity to bring solace to the lowly and the wretched He derided family pride and caste exclusiveness, and mixed with the

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11 *Karatāls* are small cymbals loosely fixed in pieces of wood They are held in each hand and used to beat the time to vocal music, and are the proverbial accompaniment of *bhajans*

poor and the untouchables, teaching them *bhakti* He sang

He who leaves his family, worships Hari and bears the taunts of the world, he, say I, Narasimh, he alone will meet Hari Others will live in vain[12]

But the climax was reached when the proud, orthodox Nāgar Brāhmans of Junāgaḍh found that he had gone to a *dhed,* an untouchable sweeper, to sing *bhajans* They forthwith excommunicated him Tired of social persecution, the saint exclaimed, "O Lord! Do not give me poverty and birth in the Nāgar caste again"[13]

A semblance of poetic justice is done to Narasimh by later poets by adding another incident to this episode. When the Nāgars were sitting down to a caste-dinner, they saw a *dhed* sitting next to every one of them This vision, however, vanished as soon as they rescinded the decree of excommunication which they had passed against the *bhakta* Many other such incidents have been sung by later poets Once Narasimh received monies and drew a *hundī* on Krishna at Dvārakā, and Krishna, himself honoured the bill of exchange Again, Rā Māndalik, the king of Junāgaḍh, called the poet and, to test his sainthood, asked him to get a garland, *hāra,* from his Lord before morn, threatening him with dire penalties if he failed to do so The *bhakta* prayed the whole night, and Krishna, just as the dawn broke, gave him the coveted garland Both these incidents appear to be based on a later tradition.

Domestic calamities overtook the poet His wife died, and, later, his son His daughter became a widow But the poet was happy as ever, unshaken in his faith and love

Believe me, all worldly happiness is shadowy All things except Krishna are ephemeral[14]

And, singing his love for his divine lover in passionate verse, the great saint, philosopher and poet lived to a ripe old age

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12 कुळ तजशे ने हरिने भजशे, सहेशे ससारनु महेणु रे,
भणे नरसैयो हरि तेनें मळशे, बीजी वाते वोहणु रे

13 निरधन नें वळी नात नागरी, हरि न आपीश अवतार रे

14 सुख संसारी मिथ्या करी मानजो,
कृष्ण विना बीजु सर्व काचु.

## VIII

For centuries, his *padas* have been handed down orally The followers of Vallabhāchārya considered Narasimh *vadhāiā* or messenger of the coming dispensation, and attached special sanctity to his *padas* The result has been unfortunate No *pada* is available in the poet's own language, and some of them bear the traces of different authorship The most notorious instance is that of *Hāramālā* which is supposed to have been composed by the poet to celebrate the occasion when Srī Krishna gave him a garland of flowers in Rā Māndalik's court The poet is confronted by representatives of other sects All of them, including the poet, thereupon break into mutual vituperation Some *padas* put into the mouth of the poet are in questionable taste, and display narrow-mindedness and arrogance foreign to Narasimh's temperament The poem came into existence about 1650, it was re-arranged and partly re-written by Premānand or some other poet in 1678, since when it has grown to twice its original size

*Śāmalsā-no vivāh,* The Marriage of Śāmal, the poet's son, is an authentic autobiographical poem The poet described the events of his life how his brother's wife drove him out, the god Śiva took him to Śrī Krishna, and he saw the *rāsa,* how his saintly wife served him, how a simple-hearted priest came to Junāgadh to find a husband for the daughter of Madan Mahetā, a proud official of Vadnagar, how the priest, fascinated with the saintliness of the poet and the qualities of his son, betrothed the girl to Śāmal The caste tried to ridicule the match, and the poet, goaded on by his wife, went to Dvārakā to the Lord whose friend he claimed to be There he found Krishna, who treated him with great friendliness and promised his support And the Lord of the universe made the marriage procession of the *bhakta* a triumphal march full of pomp The poet naively describes how the proud Madan Mahetā, when he rushed forward to greet his guest, saw Narasimh Mahetā as a divinity The marriage was solemnised with éclat, the procession came back to Junāgadh, and the poet humbly adds "The Lord disappeared as Narasimh stood with folded hands"

## IX

The bulk of his works consists of *padas*, about seven hundred and forty in number,[15] collected under the name of *Sringāramālā*, the Rosary of Love They are the expression of the Chaitanya attitude of mind To Narasimh, as to Chaitanya and Mīrān, Srī Krishna was the living Bridegroom He was convinced that he had gone to Dvārakā with God Śankara and held a torch when Srī Krishna danced with Rādhā, and that, all absorbed, he had not even noticed that his hand was scorched as the torch burnt out

I have held the hand of the great Lord of *gopīs* in pledge of love, I do not care for any one else My manhood disappeared I began to sing as a maid My body was transformed, I was one of the *gopīs* I intervened as a friend, and soothed the irate lady (Rādhā) with soft words Then I knew the delicate shades of emotion and sentiment, and felt strange experiences He who sat and sang with Rādhā lived in my heart thereafter

Modern prudery has tried in vain to find an esoteric meaning in the *padas* The voluptuous imagination of the poet had been set on fire by the sex-tinged *bhakti* of Vrindāvan, and it expressed itself in a poetic form sanctioned by the literary tradition of the age and acceptable to the religious sentiments of the author The *padas* are subjective in their tone

My Love has played the flute I cannot stay in the house for a moment I am so excited What shall I do to have a look at him?[16]

I clung to Kānji's neck, and drank the nectar of his lips[17]

How shall I go to fetch water? I am pierced by his flute, the tempter's eyes are dancing, I am attracted by his grace[18]

His eyes are matchless There is magic in his eyes, they have charmed me with love How can I go to my house? He has stolen my mind[19]

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15 *Op cit* Introduction, p 4

16 वासलडी वाई मारे वहाले, मदिरमा न रहेवाय रे,
व्याकुल थईने वहालाने, जोवा शु करू उपाय रे

17 कठे विलागी कहानजीने, अधर अमृतरस पीधो रे

18. केम जाउ जळ जमुना भरवा, वासलडीए वेधाणी रे,
कामणगारो नेण नचावे, लटके हु लोभाणीरे

19 लोचन माहे कामण भरीयुं, ते तो हु नेहशु करीयु रे;
केम मदिर जाउ मारी सजनी, माह्र मन एणे हरियु रे

Tell me, Śāmaliā, dear, where had you been? You have forgotten your love of late, you are attracted to a new woman, I am dying for you I have weighed you in the balance [20]

My Lord does not speak with me, I cannot live without hearing his words Somehow I bear the separation But what shall I do now? [21]

Krishna is with the *gopī* and she addresses the moon thus

Don t flicker like a lamp Moon! Be steady, just for once My Love is with me to-night, all shyness is at an end Let not your flame grow faint Look, my lover smiles on me The soul of my soul has met me to-day [22]

*Rāsasahasrapadī*, as it stands at present, consists about one hundred and twenty three *padas*[23] The poem begins by describing the *gopīs* as they came dressed up for the *rāsa* In words well-tuned to the idea, the poet first describes the jingling anklets of the cowherdesses as they run out to meet their lover, and then, in verse after verse, the longing of each *gopī* The *rāsa* begins The *padas* grow more picturesque, now describing the *rāsa*, now depicting the condition of some *gopī* The poet exclaims, as he describes his own part in the *rāsa*

The torch bearer, Narasimh, was Hari's torch-bearer, and his manhood disappeared

The lovely young women shouted *'thei, thei'* as Kāhna appeared with each *gopī* The anklets and girdles and the beat of drums sounded in exquisite harmony The ardent lover danced with ecstasy The resounding melody with its seven notes floated up to the sky The *gopīs*

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20 साचु बोलो शामळिया वहाला, कहोने क्या गया' ता रे,
हमणा हेत उतार्यु हरजी, पेली नवल नारशु मन मोह्यु रे,
तमो विना अमे तलसी मरिये, तोल तमारु जोयु रे

21 मारो नाथ न बोले बोल, अबोला मरिये रे,
हु क्यम करी वेठु वियोग, हवे शु करिये रे

22 दीपकडो लईश मारे चादलिया
स्थिर थई रहेजे आज,
वहालोजी विलस्यो हु साथे लोपी सघळी लाज. .
रखे ज्योत तु झाखी करतो पीउडे माड्यु हास्य..
प्राणनो प्राण ते आज मुजने मळ्या.

23 *Op cit* Introduction, p 24

danced with graceful movements, and pressed him to their hearts, their arms on each other's neck [24]

It is a free and elaborate rendering of the *Rāsa* as described in the *Bhāgavata* with possible borrowings from the *Brahmavaivarta* His *chāturīs* are again inspired by the *Gīta-govinda* But Narasimh's *Rāsa sahasrapadī* is not a rendering, nor an adaptation, but a wonderfully vivid picture of a *Rāsa* by one who has seen and dwelt in the vision with all the creative vigour of a highly inflamed imagination A sentence, a phrase in *Bhāgavata* becomes an exquisite picture of rare beauty *Vasanta-nān pado,* The Songs of Spring, are in a similar vein, but the subject is the *phāg* festival. *Hindolā-nān pado,* the Songs of the Swing Festival, relate to another popular festivity connected with Śrī Krishna In both these works, perhaps, the *phāg* literature was being pressed by Narasimh into the service of the *bhakti* cult These *padas* have given to men and women in Gujarāt a glimmer of romance, of love, of the joy of life, which their humdrum every-day existence denied them

X

The next group of poems relates to the episodes in Śrī Krishna's life as described in the canto X of the *Bhāgavata* They are on the same model as the *rāsa,* each being a series of short *padas* They are *Śrī Krishna janm* dealing with the birth of Śrī Krishna *Bālalīlā* describing his sports as an infant, *Nāgadaman* dealing with the well-known incident of his bringing back a ball which had fallen into the river Yamunā and incidentally vanquishing a cobra, *Dānalīlā* and *Mānalīlā* relating the story of how Śrī Krishna extracted the toll of curds from the *gopīs,* and *Sudāmācharitr,* the story of an old friend, needy and poor, who went to seek the aid of Śrī Krishna, and *Govindagaman,* departure of Govind, relates the episode of

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24. थैइ थैइ करे अगणित अगना, गोपी गोपी प्रत्ये सोहे कान;
झाझर नेपुर कटि तणी कौंकणी, ताल मृदग रस एकतान.
नाचता नाचता, छेल छहे भर्यो, सप्त स्वर धुन ते गगन चाली;
लटके लटका करे, नाथने उर घरे, परस्पर बाहेडी कंठ घाली.

Akrūr taking away Śrī Krishna from Gokul These were composed at different periods of his life, the last was composed, as he himself tells us, in his old age As *ākhyāns*, they indicate a more advanced stage than those of Bhālan's but less advanced than Premānand's They are not literal translations of the originals, nor are they, in presentation and substance, independent works representing Gujarātī life The author knows the text well The original episode is changed, unified by the poet's imagination, it is reproduced as a fresh story, though not different from the Purānic original in incident and character

*Suratasamgrām*, the Battle of Love,[25] which describes a boyish prank of Śrī Krishna, is an independent creation both in conception and execution It is a work of higher literary value than many other *ākhyāns*

On an early spring morn, when the birds are singing gaily, Rādhā, with ten friends, goes to sell curds She meets Śrī Krishna who, with ten of his friends, is out to gather his toll of curds Śrī Krishna abuses Rādhā Angry like a feminine Rudra incarnate, she catches hold of Śrī Krishna Śrī Krishna attacks the young cowherdess, a battle ensues, but is suspended on the sudden appearance of Śrī Krishna's father, Nanda The belligerents conceal themselves for a while, and when Nanda passes on, meet again They decide to meet on a full moon night to resume battle Rādhā is determined to fight fiercely "The vanquished must become the victor's slave," she says

When the full moon night arrives, Rādhā and her friends emerge from their houses, ready for the fray, each little amazon selecting her antagonist Rādhā writes out a message calling upon the enemies to surrender, as luck would have it, Narasimh is present, and is entrusted with the letter The young cowherds, on the other side, take counsel whether or not to yield to their fair opponents

25 This work, reminiscent of the modern feminist attitude, is challenged recently by Prof K K Shastri as a later forgery and classed among the Baroda forgeries (vide *post*) This would explain the vigour and vividness of incidents and characterisation

One advises a prudent surrender "There is no joy for you in victory, no dishonour in defeat" But Śrī Krishna refuses to submit to women In the meantime, Narasimh comes along with the message, is taken to be a thief, and is beaten He is, however, saved by Śrī Krishna The poet asserts his dignity as an ambassador, hands over the message, and, turning an ardent feminist, advises the young men to surrender He says, "Do not think that it is so easy to vanquish women The lioness is more powerful than the lion, and, so is the cowherdess, strong and tough" But his advice is rejected, the young cowherds begin their march, and send Jayadeva, the author of the *Gītagovinda* whom Narasimh considered his comrade in the Lord's service, with a message demanding immediate submission Rādhā scornfully rejects the demand, saying, "We are the primal forces of life, mothers of men, gods and demons Have you seen the seed without soil?"

The *pourparlers* having failed, the armies march against each other Kisses, embraces, 'side-long glances shooting from winsome eye-brows', and many other unmentionable missiles are valiantly exchanged The poet takes his humble share in the fight In the first round the amazons defeat the young cowherds, but Śrī Krishṇa rushes to their rescue Rādhā is overpowered at first, but recovers her ground She goes back to her friends and shoots an 'arrow of Anxiety'! The cowherds run for their lives, some fall, Śrī Krishna faints He has to be carried away from the battlefield by his friends The fair warriors, flushed with victory, pursue the fleeing men to the very outskirts of Vraja And lovely Rādhā, having vanquished the lord of cowherds, marches on, occupying his territory

*Prabhātiā*, the measure which in Narasimh's other *padas* is full of soft slow moving word music, often takes on a martial air The march, the fight, the defiant messages are described with vigour, sound matching sense The personality of Rādhā emerges from the poem with a vividness quite modern and rare in the literature of the age Determined, proudly defiant, and lovelier by far than any other heroine in Old Gujarātī literature, her portrait would be a

piece of unusual creative art for the age if the poem is authentic [26]

XI

But Narasimh's style is at its best in the *padas* of *bhakti* and *jñāna*, philosophy They present the different aspects of the real Narasimh, the Vedāntin, the iconoclast who defied the existing formulae of life and for whom self-surrender to his all-pervading Master was real and complete, the man who cheerfully bore the cross of worldly afflictions, his faith in the goodness of his Lord unshaken, the saint whose heart went out to all His creed was positive, his experience expressed itself in noble and touching eloquence, making his *padas* a living source of faith and inspiration

> What avails it if one takes his bath and offers worship? What avails it to sit in the house and give money in charity? What use is it to have studied all the six philosophies? To have preserved caste distinctions? These are but tricks to gain a living Narasimh says Who knows not the Supreme Soul that dwells within him, who sees not the Essence of all things, he has wasted his life, precious as the *chintāmani* jewel" [27]

His Vedāntism is highly practical

> You will never find the truth by making nice distinctions between soul, God and Supreme Soul Narasimh says When you forget I and Thou then alone will the Master help you [28]

The *dheds*, sweepers, invite him to sing his *bhajans* He agrees to go 'Where distinctions come in, God departs To the eye of the dispassionate, all are equal '[29]

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26 There is an amazing resemblance between the prevailing ideas and sentiments of Narasīmh's poetry and the basic concepts of Sufism and Self-effacement, rapturous union with the Divine Beloved, the ultimate Reality, and the obliteration of all distinction between "I" and "Thou" The sentiments here expressed are a striking echo of those frequently to be found in great Persian Sufi poets like Rūmī It is remarkable how the concept of mysticism and the yearning and aspiration of the initiated, the emancipated soul, in all creeds and countries, are fundamentally the same, and find expression in similar language

27 शुं थयु स्नान सेवा ने पूजा थकी ? शु थयु घेर रही दान दीधे ?
शु थयु खटदर्शन सेवा थकी ? शु थयु वरणना भेद आणे ?
ए छे परपच सहु पेट भरवा तणा आत्माराम परिब्रह्म न जोयो,
भणे नरसैयो तत्त्वदर्शन विना रत्नचितामणि जन्म खोयो

28 जीव ईश्वर अने ब्रह्मना भेदमा, सत्य वस्तु नहि सद्य जडशे,
हुं अने तुपणु तजीश नरसैया तो, गुरु तने हर्षथी पार पाडशे.

29. पक्षापक्षी त्या नाहि परमेश्वर, समदृष्टिने सर्व समान.

The poet goes amongst the untouchables and prays In the morning he returns, singing and keeping time with his *karatāl* The Nāgars, his castemen, laugh at him What kind of Brāhman is this, herding with untouchables? The poet is silent They say, "You don't know caste distinctions" He bows low with folded hands and replies, "Yes! I have only the support of the Vaishnavas" He defiantly sings

> I am such a man, I am such a one as you say In the whole of the society I alone am wicked, yea, more wicked than the wicked You may call me what you like, but my love is deeper I am Narasaiyo of the wicked deeds, but the Vaishnavas alone are dear to me He who believes himself superior to the worshipper of Hari has led his life in vain"[30]

According to him, Vaishnava is not one who worships Vishnu, he is the flower of Aryan culture He describes it in a verse which Mahātmā Gāndhī has made the hymn of his life

> He is the real Vaishnava who feels others' sufferings as his own He serves those who are afflicted and has no conceit He bows before everyone, despises none, is steady in word, body and mind Blessed is the mother of such a man His outlook is always dispassionate, he has left all desires, he sees a mother in another man's wife He never speaks an untruth, and touches no one's wealth Ignorance does not overpower him, his mind knows stern detachment He has experienced ecstasy in the worship of Rāma, his body in itself possesses all places of pilgrimage He has no avarice, he knows no fraud, he has outgrown desire and anger Narsaiyā says To look at such a man is to earn merit enough to save seventy-one generations from hell[31]

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30 एवा रे अमो एवा, तमे कहो छो वळी तेवा रे,
सघळा साथमा हु एक भुडो, भुडाथी वळी भुडो रे;
तमारे मन माने ते कहेजो, स्नेह लाग्यो छे मने ऊडो रे
हळवा कर्मनो हु नरसैयो, मुजने तो वैष्णव वहाला रे;
हरिजनथी जे अतर गणशे, तेना फोगट फेरा ठाला रे.

31 वैष्णवजन तो तेने कहीए, जे पीड पराइ जाणे रे;
परदु.खे उपकार करे ते, मन अभिमान न आणे रे
सकळ लोकमा सहुने वदे, निदा ते न करे केनी रे,
वाचकाछमन निश्चळ राखे तो, धन्य धन्य जननी तेनी रे.
समदृष्टि ने तृष्णा त्यागी, परस्त्री जेने मात रे,
जीह्वा थकी असत्य न बोले, परधन नव झाले हाथ रे

This was for our poet no academic description of the Aryan code of ethics It was a flaming truth, which the poet had felt and lived all his life, uttered in immortal words In some of his *padas* the poet expresses himself with great poetic eloquence In one such *pada*, Narasimh has risen to a power of conception and expression, a solemn majesty of noble, resounding utterance, which has scarcely been improved upon by any other author in the language

> Look at the sky, see Who pervades it, uttering the words 'I am He', 'I am He' At the feet of the Dark One, would I die, for there is none here who can compare with Krishna My mind, lost in one endless festive mood, cannot fathom the great, dark splendour Know the animate and the inanimate as one, lovingly hold fast to the life eternal Look there—where the flaming light shines out of a million rising suns, where the heavens are ablaze with a golden mantle, there, the Supreme sports in joy, swinging in a golden cradle There, without wick or oil or thread, burns bright the fiery lamp, unwavering and everlasting Let us see, but not with eyes, Him who is Formless Let us drink in the delicious joy of this vision, but not with tongues He is the Unknowable, the Deathless swinging high and low The Lord of Narsaiyā is omnipresent The saints alone can catch Him in the web of their love [32]

The *bhakta* of a personal Krishna merges in the philosophic saint, expressing the two-fold vision in one great word picture

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मोहमाया व्यापे नहि तेने, दृढ वैराग्य जेना मनमा रे,
रामनामसुं ताळी रे लागी, सकळ तीरथ तेना तनमा रे
वगलोभी ने कपटरहित छे, कामक्रोधने निवार्या रे,
भणे नरसैयो तेनुं दरसन करता, कुळ इकोतेर तार्या रे.

32 नीरखने गगनमा कोण घुमी रह्यो, ते ज हु ते ज हु शब्द बोले,
श्यामना चरणमा इच्छु छु मरण रे, अहिया कोइ नथी कृष्ण तोले
श्याम शोभा घणी बुद्धि ना शके कळी, अनत ओच्छवमा पथ भूली,
जड ने चैतन रस करी जाणवो, पकडी प्रेमे सजीवन मूळी
जळहळ ज्योत उद्योत रवि कोटमा, हेमनी कोर ज्या नीसरे तोले,
सच्चिदानद आनदक्रीडा करे, सोनाना पारणा माही झूले
वत्ती विण, तेल विण, सूत्र विण, जो वळी, अचळ झळके सदा अनळ दीवो,
नेत्र विण नीरखवो, रूप विण परखवो, वण जिह्वाए रस सरस पीवो
अकळ अविनाशी ए नव ज जाये कळ्यो, अरध उरधनी माहे महाले,
नरसैया चो स्वामी सकळ व्यापी रह्यो, प्रेमना तंतमा सत झाले.

## XII

### Thus, lived and sang the noblest figure of vanished Gujarāt

He dedicated thought, word, and deed to Śrī Krishna He placed all his desires and hopes at his feet As he carried on this alchemic process, he outgrew his sensuality His *bhakti* turned spotless, the love as of a *gopī*, which he cherished, grew measureless he saw his Lover in all men 'Who sees Me everywhere, who sees all in Me' was not a mere phrase to Narasaiyā, nor an idea, but a plain, living fact He realised *Īsvarapranidhāna* forsaking all, he placed himself in His hands And the stifling bonds of existence fell away from him He came to be the embodiment of the Idea on which great souls from Vyāsa, Christ and Augustine to Chaitanya and Mahātmā Gāndhī have built the fabric of life Awake or asleep, his days were an eloquent commentary on the great truth perceived by Lord Vedavyāsa

'Fix thy mind on Me alone, let thy will sink in Mine

So shall thou abide in Me alone—for ever, there's no doubt'[33]

The legacy of rich and varied vocabulary and language of great power and beauty which he left, exercised a great influence on literature His *padas*, cast into the slow-moving and elastic *prabhātiā* metre generally reserved for early morning prayers, moulded the language and sentiments of succeeding generations His taste is often loud and vulgar He lacks the delicacy of Mīrān, the intensity of Sūradāsa, the classic dignity of Tulasīdāsa His language is too rhetorical to permit of that light, lingering touch which makes for great poetry But he broke away from the lifeless literary tradition of his days He changed Gujarātī poetry from an impersonal to a personal art Poet, *bhakta,* apostle of Aryan culture—Narasimh was, and is, unique in Gujarāt

### NOTE A THE AGE OF NARASIMH MAHETA

When the knowledge of early Gujarātī literature first began to be acquired, some scholars conferred upon Narasimh the honour of being the first poet both in date and merit As will appear form the text, the literature had its beginnings at least three centuries prior to the date, 1414-1480, tentatively fixed for Narasimh by these scholars (1) This date was chiefly based upon the year 1512 (A V ) given in *Hāramālā,* a poem attributed to Narasimh, as the date when Rā Māndalik of Junāgadh (c 1433-1473) put his sainthood to test

33 *Op cit*, p 92

*Haramālā*, however, is not composed by Narasimh himself, but is the work of some later poet, the legend of the garland apart from its intrinsic improbability has no historic basis, and the belief that Narasimh and Māndalik were contemporaries has nothing in its support except the poem itself, the existence of which cannot be traced beyond *c* 1650 (2) Further, the earliest authentic reference to Narasimh himself is in a work of the grandson of the Vaishnava *goswāmī* Viṭhalanāthjī, composed about 1600 (3) The Gujarātī poets of the fifteenth and the sixteenth century, most of whom were *bhaktas* or *purāniks*, had no knowledge of him and do not bear any trace of his influence (4) The first reliable reference to him in Gujarāt itself is in 1652, and the available manuscript of none of his alleged works can be placed before that (5) Govindadāsa's diary of his and Chaitanya's visit in August 1511 to a temple of Ranachhodjī, at Junāgadh is silent about this the greatest *bhakta* of Śrī Krishna as Ranachhodjī, who made Junāgadh itself famous amongst the *bhakti* cults of India (6) The *bhakti* of Narasimh bears traces of the Vrindāvan school which spread over the country about 1500 The date of Narasimh, therefore, can reasonably be placed in the sixteenth century, somewhere between 1500 and 1580 Pursuing a doubt raised by Principal Anandshankar Dhruva, I went into the question in *Gujarātī Sāhitya* (1927), and more elaborately again in the introduction to *Narsaiyo Bhakta Hari-no* (1933) Narsinhrao Divatia in his Vassonji Lectures, *Gujarati Language and Literature*, while criticising some of my arguments, has admitted the validity of the doubt as to the orthodox date and the necessity of bringing it later Many later critics have all combated my conclusions Govindadāsa's *Kadchha* is challenged as a forgery And Narasimh's *bhakti* is even traced to the Vārakari Saints of Mahārāshtra, in my opinion, in a way not justified by Narasimh's attitude throughout his authentic works Of such critics Prof K K Shastri has been the most prominent But I find in these critics an attempt at scoring points rather than a dispassionate survey of the problem I remain unconvinced about the authenticity of *Hāramālā*, and the alleged influence on the poet of *bhakti* cults other than that which sprang up in Vrindāvan

## CHAPTER V

# POPULAR FICTION

## (1360-1652)

Original sources—Gunāḍhya—Folk stories common to Brāhmana and Jain works — Characteristics — Ethical motive — Love — *Ākhyana* and *Kathā*—*Vetālapanchavimsatikā* 1360—*Simhāsana-dvātrimsikā* (1463)—*Pañchatantra*—*Śukasaptati*—*Mādhavānala dogdhaka-prabandha* — *Chaurapanchāsikā* — *Mārudholāchupāi* (1541)—*Vidyāvilās-no Pavāḍo* (1429)—*Śilavatī-no Rāsa*—*Sadayavats ane Sāvalingā*—Jain legendary literature—Lāvanyasamay (1485) — *Vimalaprabandh* — Nayasundar (1560-1620) — *Rūpachandrakunvararās*—*Kusumasrīrās* (1652)

FROM prehistoric times, India possessed a fascinating wealth of folk-lore Literary men from Bhāsa downwards have drawn freely upon it, and all literatures, Sanskrit, Prākrit, Apabhramśa, Old and Modern, glisten with its golden threads

I

The *Jātakas* were a rich storehouse to draw upon Gunādhya, the author of the lost *Brihatkathā* in Paiśāchī Prākrit, was looked upon as the father of popular fiction, and *Kathāsaritsāgara* (1063), an edition of the work abridged by Somadeva, true to its name, was the ocean where met the rivers of popular imagination Kshemendra composed a similar collection of tales under the title *Brihatkathāmañjarī* *Pañchatantra*, another such collection, was translated into Pehlvī in the sixth century, and into Italian and English early in the sixteenth century Some of the stories in the Arabian Nights can be traced to early Indian sources Other favourite sources drawn upon by Indian authors were *Vetālapañchavimśatikā*, *Simhāsana-dvātrimśikā* and *Śukasaptati*

With classical influence on the wane, fiction came into popular favour in Gujarāt, and many authors diverted their attention from religious to secular literature Even *dharmakathās* were presented as pictures of real life In the hands of Bhālan as we saw, even the Purānic *ākhyāyikās* developed a tendency to become popular tales.

The stories composed in Gujarāt depicted life as it was before the Muslim invasion of the country They were not, as was once believed, the handiwork of any particular section of writers either Brāhmana or Jain Long before the versions now available to us were composed, their originals had become indispensable to the masses as a source of enlightenment and entertainment in the whole of India

These stories, unlike *dharmakathās,* were not allegorical, nor did the didactic element in them subordinate the human They were romances, pure and simple A characteristic common to them was predominance of the miraculous Witchcraft, incantation, transformation of the human body, revival of the dead, transition from one body into another were freely introduced Fantastic adventures were no less common Many of them had bourgeois setting, and described voyages and commercial enterprises Robbery, seduction and kidnapping were by no means neglected

They portrayed a free society, unknown to this period They spoke of co-education, of women, free, educated and versed in the fine arts, of headstrong feminists, of hetairae, highly cultured and loyal, of a certain degree of general education Love, intense and spontaneous, or the betrayal of it, provided the principal motive, and ordinarily the miseries of lovers, sundered by accident or design, sustained the sentimental interest of the story The outstanding shortcoming of this class of literature was failure to delineate human character The hero of one story was like the hero of another, so was the heroine, and so were the king and the hetairae—wooden and stereotyped

*Prahelikā,* or a riddle, was a literary feature which they had inherited from their Sanskrit forbears Dandin mentions sixteen kinds of *prahelikās*[1] and even fifty years ago, solving riddles or *koydās* was a popular pastime in Gujarāt Heroine after heroine goes about offering meaningless or even obvious riddles to men, after having solemnly resolved to marry only the happy suitor who is clever enough to solve them Perhaps, in an age of ignorance, this was the

1 *Kāvyādarśa* III, 96-124

only kind of cleverness which appealed to intelligent women

II

The source largely drawn upon for these stories was the *Vetālapañchaviṁśatikā* Chandragupta II, the Gupta Emperor and the traditional Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, is the hero of these miraculous tales A *yogī* asked Vikram to carry, without uttering a single word, a corpse hanging on a tree to a place where miraculous powers could be acquired by certain processes The king took down the corpse, when the ghoul, Vetāl, residing in it, began to tell a story At the end of the story, the ghoul put a question to the king The king, forgetting the *yogī's* injunction, gave a reply, upon which the corpse disappeared, and was seen again hanging on the tree This incident is repeated twenty-five times, and every time Vetāl produces an interesting story

Vikramaditya, styled *paraduhkhabhanjan,* the reliever of people in distress, is the King Arthur of India At one time there was scarcely a house in Gujarāt, perhaps in many parts of India, where his exploits were not listened to with rapt attention Śāmal compares their recital with the *Rāmāyana* The first available work on these legends in old Gujarātī is by Devaśīla (1567) Up to *c* 1668 as many as five poets had composed works on these legends

Another popular work is *Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśikā,* composed by the *sādhu* Kshemankara from original sources in Māhārāshtrī Prākrit In these tales, King Bhoj of Ujjayini discovers the throne of Vikram, on which are carved thirty-two statuettes Every time Bhoj desires to seat himself on the throne, one of the statuettes asks him not to do so till he has been as generous and helpful as Vikram Thus each statuette in succession tells a story relating the exploits of Vikram The first available version of these stories in Old Gujarātī is composed by Malayachandra in *c* 1463 Many authors wrote about them till *c* 1721, when Śāmal Bhat re-wrote them

*Pañchatantra* was revised in the thirteenth century by Pūrnabhadra, a Jain *sādhu* of Jhālor In the fifteenth century, this work was twice rendered into Old Gujarātī

*Śukasaptati* was another fruitful source of popular tales A man left for a foreign country, and, in his absence, his wife was tempted to break the marital vow But her parrot was a clever bird Every night, as the woman was tempted to leave the house in pursuit of a love adventure, it started telling a story about a woman who extricated herself from difficulties At a thrilling point in the story, the parrot would ask the woman how the heroine should act When she confessed her inability to offer a way out, the parrot would tell her not to leave the house that night if she wanted to hear the solution Thus, on every one of the seventy nights, the woman, attracted by a fresh story, gave up her intention of seeking a paramour At the end of the period, the fortunate husband returned to find his wife as inviolate as when he had left her The first Gujarātī version (c 1582) of these stories is by Ratnasundar, a Jain *sādhu* Tales of conjugal perfidy were always heard with avidity, then as now

Popular imagination, highly exercised over Vikram, produced a number of other tales independently of Sanskrit sources Mangalamānek, a *sādhu*, composed about c. 1582 *Vikram ane Khāprāchorarāsa* based on such a tale Similar tales were also told about Siddharāj who, to Gujarātīs, was a replica of Vikram in valour and generosity In c 1549 Matisāra composed a work called *Karpūramanjarī*, in which a statuette on the famous Rudramāla temples at Siddapur tells a story of her love In c 1607 Kanakasundara composed a *Karpūramanjarī rāsa*

## III

Another tale of wild, romantic love which fascinated Gujarāt was borrowed from *Kāmakundalā Nātaka* of Ānandadhara (c 1300) It appears to have been popular both in North India and the Deccan, for we find it adapted both in Hindi and Marāthī Ganapati, a son of Narasā Kāyastha, composed a *Mādhavānala-dogdhaka-prabandha* in Old Gujarātī at Āmod in c 1528 It had evidently a wide appeal, for one of its copies was found in Bikaner [2]

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2 Vide, Majumdar's article in *Gujarāti Sāhitya*, p 411 (Guj )

Ganapati's work consists of 2500 *dogdhaka* verses, and is inspired by a *Madan Purāna,* a Purāna of Love  Kuśalalābha wrote a *Mādhav-kāmakundalā rāsa* in *c* 1560, Śāmal gave his own version of it and called it *Mādhavānala,* and a play based on it evoked interest even in modern times

In the city of Pushpāvatī, where Kāmasen rules, lives a Brāhmana youth by name Mādhav, 'as handsome as Love' The women of the town run after him, and the citizens beseech the king to get rid of so fruitful a source of trouble The king, in a judicious mood, tries to test the intensity of the fascination exercised by the boy by bringing him before his queens  Finding him, however, a danger to his own domestic peace, the king promptly banishes him

Mādhav, wandering from place to place, comes to Amarāvatī  His extraordinary intelligence immediately draws the attention of the local king, who gives him an honoured place in his court  A hetaira, Kāmakundalā, the favourite of the king, is at the moment dancing  Mādhav watches her performance  Admiring her skill in dancing, undisturbed even by a bee which alights on her dress, he presents to her the very betel leaf, *bidā,* which the king had presented to him as a mark of honour  The king, angry at the scant courtesy shown by Mādhav to the royal present, orders him to leave the town  The young man with the curse of beauty upon him, while on his way to leave the city, meets Kāmakundalā  She invites him to her house  The two meet, both fall in love with each other, exchange spicy riddles and their spicier solutions and are happy  In the morning, both part from each other with breaking hearts  Ganapati puts the following prayer in Kāmakundalā's mouth

> The fair one whispers thus  "Mādhav, pray do not go  I will get a subterranean room made, and keep you there  If you like, I will lock you up in my heart  But do not move a step away from me  If you hide yourself in my eyes, I shall screen you with collyrium  I fall at your feet, I beg of you, do not go to a foreign land  Come to the mirror, and I will close you in with my arms around your neck (as a bee is enclosed in a lotus), the sun, when he rises, may open all other petals, but not the knot I will have tied you with  I will wear you

inside the knot of my braid, as Lord Siva wears Gangā I am a forlorn woman, I weep in distress My Lord, do not leave me"[3]

He goes to Ujjayinī, and describes his distress in verses, which he writes on the wall of a temple Wandering in disguise about the city at night, as was his wont, to discover the miseries of his subjects, King Vikram reads the verses, and he employs a dancing girl to find their love-lorn author Mādhav is found, and, is brought to King Vikram Apprised of the hero's love for Kāmakundalā, the 'reliever of distress' forthwith calls upon Kāmasen to give her up, and, on his refusal to do so, marches upon his city with an army

Vikram, however, wants to test the strength of Kāmakundalā's love He goes to her in disguise and tries in vain to win her for himself As a further test, he informs her that Mādhav is dead On hearing of the death of her lover, Kāmakundalā falls unconscious, and is on the point of death The king comes back to his camp, and informs Mādhav of her death The poor lover also faints Vikram, horror-struck at having killed a Brāhmana, wants to commit suicide The spirit Vetāl, his friend from the other world, comes to his rescue, and revives the lovers They are married by the king with great pomp, and the lovers live happily ever afterwards The Gujarātī poets have worked into this tale a history of the previous births of the lovers after the style of *Tarañgalolā*

*Chaurapanchāśikā* is another love-story in Sanskrit which attracted the attention of Gujarātī authors Bilhana, a poet from Kāshmir, so runs the story, fell in love with the daughter of Kshitipāl, a king of the Punjab The father

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3 माधव तुम्हो म चालिसिउ गोरी झपइ गूझ।
भलू कराविशि भूइरु माहि राखिशी तुझ॥
कहि तु कालिज माहा घरु राख हृदय मझारि।
मूझनि मूकी माधवा पगलु रखे पधारि॥
आविस माधवउ आखि माहा आंडि काजल देशि।
पगी लागू छउ पीड तुझ म म जाइसि परदेशि॥
आव आरीसामाहि तु बभण बाधु कठि।
खितिपति खुलइ खप करी किम्हइ न छूटइ गठि॥
आज आमोडामाहि घरू ईशतणइ जिम गग।
हु विलपति विरहिणि स्वामी म छडसि सग॥

discovering his daughter's infatuation for the poet, banished him from his kingdom The heart-broken poet poured forth his feelings of sorrow and despondency in the fifty verses of this work[4] Some Gujarātī poet has prefixed another poem of seventy-four verses to this one, giving a local turn to this romantic incident According to this poem, King Vīrasinh of Pātan employs Bilhana to teach his daughter Śaśikalā The teacher and the pupil fall in love with each other and are secretly married When the king discovers the marriage he sentences the poet to death This story has been worked upon by Jñānāchārya in his *Bilhanakāvya* (*c* 1500) Śāmal Bhat has incorporated the story in his *Madanamohanā*

## IV

*Māiudholāchupāi* by Kuśalalābha (*c* 1561) is based on the romance of Dholā and Māru, the earliest work thereon being the old Rājasthānī *Dholā-Mārurā Duhā* which is one of the most valuable gems of the Medieval literature of North India Another version by an unknown poet was composed in *c* 1601, and yet another was written in *c* 1616 by Ānandodaya Dayabhai, a modern dramatist, has drawn upon the story for his play, *Umā-Devdī*

The language of Kuśalalābha's work, parts of which are in prose, presents the Rājasthānī aspect of Old Gujarātī The plot is realistic, and the sentiments and imagery have an old-world flavour It is a beautiful love-poem of old Gujarāt, fresh with local colour The note of love sounds true and intense in its appeal as in no other poem of the age The poet unequivocally admires the sentiment of *Śringāra* 'It is the principal among the nine *rasas* It pleases the gods, it is the friend of women Respect for the plighted word, affection, humour, pathos, voluptuousness, laughter, love, and the joy of reunion, all are found in it'

In the city of Pungal in Mārwād, lived king Pingal He receives an offer to marry Umādevī, the beautiful daughter of Sāmantasimha of Jhālor Umā has already been twice betrothed, once to the king of Pātan, and again

4 Sir Edwin Arnold has rendered the work in English

to the king of Junāgaḍh But the mother of the princess dislikes Gujarāt "Gujarāt is full of diseases and lunatics Weak men and shameless women live there How can we give the princess to such a country?" Ultimately, recourse is had to a trick, the date of marriage is fixed, but the kings of Junāgadh and Pātan are informed of it so late as not to permit of a journey from their capitals to Jhālor On the appointed day, Pingal alone is present, and is married to Umā

Umā gives birth to Māru, short for Māruvanī, 'whose body is as fragrant as *kastūri* ' When she is a year and a half old, a famine overtakes the land, and Pingal and his people seek a more favoured land near Pushkaratīrth Nala, the king of Nalavaragadh, comes there on a pilgrimage with his queen and a three-year-old boy, Sālhakumār whose pet name is Dholā

The two kings become friends, and cement their friendship by marrying the baby Dholā with the infant princess Nala then returns to his own country and, through time and distance, becomes indifferent to the marriage of his little son Dholā grows up ignorant of his marriage, and is married to Mālavanī, a princess of Mālwā

Dholā, who is fond of horses, makes friends with a horse-dealer The horse-dealer, when he goes to Pungal, learns to his surprise that the king's daughter has been married to his friend Dholā, and is awaiting an invitation from her husband He informs Pingal's men about Dholā's marriage with the princess of Mālwā The information reaches Māru With an aching heart, she goes about sending messages to the husband whom she has loved from infancy Piteously she addresses a *sārasa* bird in the lake

> Bird! lend me your wings, I shall ever be grateful Flying across the seas, I will go, meet my lover, and then give them back to you This land of the North is oppressive, my heart lives in the South[5]

But the bird does not listen to her It flies away 'Unfortunate indeed is she who has been deserted by her mate'

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5 कुरजां आपो पंषडी थाको विनो वहेस ;
सायर लंघे प्रीउ मिला, प्रीउ मिल पाछी देस.
उतर दिस उपराठीया, दिषण सामु हीयाह.

In distant Nalavaragaḍh, Dholā's mother lets fall a reference to the marriage in the presence of her son, who thus comes to know of the wife he has married in infancy But the jealousy of his wife, Mālavanī, is roused She causes messengers from Pungal to be killed, so that no message of Māru is ever delivered to her husband

King Pīngal is surprised that none of his messengers ever return Finally, Māru sends her message through wandering minstrels

> Wanderer! Give a message to Dholā ... Come to me soon, beloved! Without you, your bride is heart-broken, a bow without the string ... Love! If you do not come by the beginning of Śrāvana, the lightning will fall, and I shall die in fear ... Day and night, I weep, for I am lonely without you Daily I worship the direction in which you live, my eyes have not closed in sleep since you left Love, come soon Else, be assured, the crows will fly over the dead body of Māru"[6]

The message reaches Dholā He wants to leave for Pungal, but Mālavanī, anxious to keep him to herself, induces him to put off his visit on one excuse or another

> Now, my beloved, the rains have come, the roads are muddy, the creepers cling to the trees, women, to men[7]

Dholā sends a bard with a message to Māru, and prepares to go, in spite of the protests and wails of Mālavanī The latter even requests the riding camel to feign lame-

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6 पथी एक सदेसडो, ढोलानै समजाय ;

. . . . . . .

विहलो आवे वलहा .
तो विण धण वीलषी फिरै, गूण विण लाल कबाण

. . . . . . . .

जो तु ढोला नावीयो, श्रावण पैहलो तीज ,
सैहरा षवेशी बीजली, मुध मरेसी षीज.

. . . . . . . . . .

हु रुनी निसदिन्न भरि, सुणि ढोला तु जोय ,
जिण दिस तुं सजन वसै, तिण दिस मोहि सलाम ,
जबथी हम तुम वीछडे, तबथी नयणे नीद हराम.

. . . . . . . . . . .

ढोला आज्यौ वेगसुं, न आया तो निमलेस ,
मारु तणै करंकडै, वायस उडावेस.

7. पावस आयो प्रीतम, पगे विलंबी गार,
वना विलाबी वेलडी, नरा विलाबी नार

ness, but all her efforts to put obstacles in the way of her impatient husband are in vain She is, however, successful in exacting a promise from him that he will not start on his journey as long as she is awake Mālavanī then tries to give up sleep, but nature is too strong for her, and one day, as she falls asleep, Dholā takes the road to Pungal Mālavanī wakes up to find her husband gone and bewails her lot

> Cursed is the land which has no mountain If there had been one here, I would have thrown myself from it Love, I go mad when I see a bed, like a black cobra, it poisons me

She sends a parrot to bring her husband back The parrot flies to Dholā, and tells him to return "Mālavanī will die without you" Dholā replies heartlessly, "Go, collect wood and, when she dies, cremate her"

Approching Pungal, Dholā sees Māru as she comes with her friends to fetch water from a well outside the town The parted lovers meet, and, are received with joy by Māru's parents

> My lover whom I awaited has come The pillars dance, the house smiles, the bed-steads reel with joy[8]

After a few days spent in pleasure of all kinds, Dholā, with his bride, sets off for his native land People warn him against the jealousy of one Umar Sumarā whose offer for Māru's hand has been rejected On the way, a serpent bites Māru and she dies Dholā prepares to die with her on the same pyre, removes his ornaments, and gives a message to his camel to be delivered to his parents

But God Śankar and his spouse hasten to the rescue of true love, and Māru is revived Resuming their journey, Dholā and Māru meet Umarā's men They induce Dholā to join them in a drinking bout, intending to kill him when drunk, and to capture Māru She comes to know of the plan and warns him Hotly pursued by Umarā's men, the galloping camel bears them in safety to Nalavaragadh Every one is happy, and Māru and Mālavanī, both basking in their husband's love, live like two sisters

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8. ते साजन पधारीया, ज्यारी जोती वाट,
थाभ कुदै घरि हसै, षेलण लागी षाट

V

Another popular story, *Vidyāvilāsa,* is taken from Vinayachandra's *Mallināthamahākāvya* (*c* 1229) in Sanskrit The first Gujarātī version of the story, written by Hirānand under the name *Vidyāvilāsano Pavādo,* is dated 1429 The most racy and popular version of it, undoubtedly, is that of Śāmal under the name *Vinechat-nī vārtā*

In the town of Kāñchanapur lives Śrīpāl, the *nagar śeth* He calls his four sons and asks them the best way to make money Three of them indicate the normal methods of business, but the fourth, Śrīvats, an idiot, talks sedition "I will rule as our king does," says he, and his father drives him out of the house

Śrīvats goes to Ratnapur and attends school, where his dullness earns for him the name *mūrkhachat,* the fool Among his fellow-pupils are Saubhāgyamañjarī, the king's daughter, and the son of the minister The princess is in love with the minister's son, but he does not encourage her The princess is insistent The reluctant lover plays a trick upon her, he persuades the idiot to impersonate him as bridegroom, marry the princess, and run away with her during the night

Before leaving the city, Śrīvats goes to offer his parting salutations to his teacher Taking pity on the idiot, the teacher invokes Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, and gives him some water endowed with the miraculous power of making a man learned The idiot drinks the water, and, on the instant, he sheds his idiocy like a cast off skin The princess, under the impression that she has married her lover, silently travels with him the whole night on a camel When the dawn comes, she discovers to her horror that she has married the wrong man, and that too the idiot

They come to Ujjayinī Śrīvats, now poet and scholar, earns fame and the title of *vidyā-vilāsa,* one who delights in learning Śrīvats's learning attracts the king's attention and he is appointed prime minister Meanwhile, the unhappy princess, ignorant of the transformation her husband has undergone, lives in an upper storey of the house, bewailing the lot which has tied her to a fool The

princess, having known her husband from his boyhood, declines to believe in his reputed learning

King Ratnaketu learns that his minister, though able to win over every one, has failed to win the heart of his own wife, and, curious to see the woman who could not be won by so charming and learned a husband, invites himself to dinner at their house To frustrate the king's curiosity, the princess wears, in turn, three different dresses, and the king fails to ascertain which of the three ladies serving him is his minister's wife

The king's curiosity remains unabated He gives orders that his minister's wife should come and sing at a festival held outside the town in honour of the guardian deity The princess makes what she thinks an impossible condition "I will sing only if my husband plays an instrument in accompaniment!" says she To her surprise, the condition is accepted The minister plays upon the instrument to perfection, and she has to sing The people are transported with joy at the skill of both, and the king has them carried in a procession through the city

During the procession, the princess loses her ring And for the first time after their marriage Saubhāgyamañjarī speaks to her husband, when she asks him to find it Śrīvats goes back in search of the ring, but is inadvertently locked out of the city at night Being in a hurry to return to his wife, he tries to enter the city through a gutter, and, in doing so, is bitten by a snake

A courtesan, who sees what has befallen him, takes him to her house and cures him of the snake-bite Śrīvats, in return, promises to grant any favour she might ask The hetaira demands that he should live with her as her paramour, and, as a man of honour, he has to keep his promise Unwilling to take risks, the woman ties round his foot a charm which immediately turns him into a peacock

Peacock by day and paramour by night, poor Śrīvats leads a miserable existence One day, Śrīvats, the peacock, flies to his own terrace, and hears Saubhāgyamañjarī bewailing the loss of a husband whom she has come to

love too late On the following day, he again visits his home On this occasion, his wife's friend happens to untie the charm, and he resumes his own form The husband recounts his tale of woe to the wife, but insists on being turned into a peacock, for a word plighted even to a courtesan must be kept And once more a bird, he flies back

But the princess reports all she has heard from her husband to the king, who retrieves him Śrīvats, now restored to his usual form, is honoured by the king Giving him his daughter in marriage, the king retires to a forest Śrīvats succeeds to the throne, marches on the city where his father lives, and, defeats its king The story ends with the reunion of the father and son

## VI

There are two other love-stories of a still more fantastic kind, in which the romantic lovers pass through a succession of lives in order to attain a happy union One is *Hamsāvalī*, the available Gujarātī versions being of c 1355, 1457 and 1617, the last by a poet of the name of Śivadās This poet also wrote a tale called *Kāmāvatī*, which Vīrjī, the pupil of Premānand, re-wrote in c 1669 The heroines of these two stories are a class by themselves They begin as man-hating feminists, become love-lorn damsels, and end as loving wives There is yet another popular story called *Śīlavatīno rāsa*, in which the loyal wife of a merchant sojourning abroad is believed to be carrying an illegitimate child, and is driven out of the family Tragic adventures befall her, but, in the end, she and her husband come together Matters are explained, the child is proved to be legitimate, and the wife is taken back, her honour fully established There are three versions of the story dated c 1547, c 1580 and c 1644 respectively Śāmal has adapted the story in *Bhadrābhāminī*

One other tale, *Sadayavatsa-Sāvalingā*, has charmed Gujarāt for about five hundred years Sadayavats and Sāvalingā, husband and wife, are banished from their native city, and are separated Ultimately they meet after undergoing fearful experiences, in all of which the fantas-

tic vies with the miraculous The story is possibly taken from some unknown Prākrit source Its first available Gujarātī version is dated *c* 1410, and many versions have followed In the villages, its latest version still holds the field *against modern stories*

## VII

During the fifteenth century the literary activity of the Jain *sādhus* was as brisk as before, though its direction underwent a change They were at an advantage compared to the Brāhmanas in those troublous times They were not burdened by family or social ties Except during the monsoon, they were always on the move, immune from the political misfortunes which had overtaken Gujarāt Their literary tradition was intact, for their clientele was rich enough to preserve the integrity of the *upāśrayas* which sheltered them, their pupils and their libraries As they travelled from the Punjab to the Deccan, their outlook grew wide and varied, while their solitary life left them sufficient leisure to acquire a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit and Apabhramśa literature

The *sādhu* composed *charitas* of the self-same *tīrthankaras, chakravartins* and saints as the literary *sādhus* before him had done Just as the Brāhmanical author was obsessed by certain Purānic heroes, he was by Bharata, Rishabhadev, Neminath and Sthūlibhadr He wrote about them in tedious, monotonous rhyme Sometimes he varied his themes by writing about Kumārapāl and Vastupāl He also tried his hand at philosophic discussions, sermons, *sajjāyas* or eulogies of places of pilgrimage, and other religious subjects But, unfortunately, religious propaganda was the sole ostensible excuse for his resorting to literature, and, consequently, his work suffered from a surfeit of religious and moral bias He lacked the emotion of *bhakti* to elevate his utterance to even comparatively artistic poetry With lapse of time, even his stories lost in interest, for, every incident had to be moulded to a narrow, rigid code of life

## VIII

Some of the Jain poets have hitherto suffered unmerited neglect Their language for a time was treated as archaic, the religious and moral precepts with which they sowed their compositions repelled both scholar and reader, and the unbalanced praise of Jain scholars more often than not retarded a due recognition of their real worth

The most notable author of the sixteenth century was Lāvanyasamay, an author of considerable literary attainments His original name was Laghurāj He was born in *c* 1485 in a Srīmālī Vanik family of Ahmedābād, and was initiated as a Jain *sādhu* at the age of eight His autobiographical note in *Vimalaprabandh* runs

> Through the favour of Sarasvatī, I became a poet in my sixteenth year and so I have composed excellent *rāsas*, with parts in prose and parts in poetry, using *chhanda*, *kavitā* and *chupāi* I have also composed songs and poems in different tunes and also dialogues

He composed over twenty-nine works Four of these are *rāsas* of *tīrthankars* and saints One is *Rāvanamandodarīsamvād*, *c* 1506, a work based on the *Rāmāyan*, being a dialogue between Sita's abductor and his wife The other is *Devarājavatsarājachupāi*, a story of the ordinary type He also wrote the well-known *Vimalaprabandh*, *c* 1512, and other religious and ethical poems

*Vimalaprabandh*, or *Vimalarās* purports to be a biography of Vimalaśā, the minister of Bhīma I, the Chālukya king of Pātan, but it has scarcely any historical value It is a story based purely on tradition But, such as it is, it is better than the *rāsas* on historical persons of the centuries following, and represents an intermediate step between the historical *prabandh* of Merutunga and the popular legend of Rishabhadās This *prabandh* was rendered into Sanskrit in c 1522 by Saubhāgya

The *prabandh* begins with a description of the Hemakūt mountain, of the foundation of Śrīmāl by the goddess Lakshmī (canto i), of the origin of the castes known as Śrīmāls, Osvāls and Poravāds, of good omens, of the eighty castes of the Vaiśyas, of their social customs (canto ii), and of the iniquities prevalent in the Kaliyuga (canto iii) The

birth of Vimal is then described The auspicious signs on his body foreshadowing greatness are mentioned The ceremony of putting him to school and the way he completes his studies are next described

Afraid of their enemies, his mother takes him to her father's village, where he acquires knowledge of arts and skill in arms through the favour of the goddess Ambājī He is betrothed, and also discovers a buried treasure (canto iv) The auspicious signs on the body of a bride, the virtues of a good woman—rather a formidable number—the marriage of Vimal and Śrīdevī, and the festivities accompanying it are then described (canto v) The poet depicts their joy with an unusual restraint

> Lovely flowers spread their fragrance in beautiful gardens There, they sport in dalliance, make coronets of *champā* flowers and crown each other, they gambol in fountains

Vimal then goes to live in Pātan King Bhīm is jealous of the rich and brave Vimal, and tries to have him killed by a tiger, but Vimal kills the tiger (canto vi) Tired of the persecutions of the king, Vimal leaves Pātan, captures Chandrāvatī, near Mount Abu, and becomes its ruler A traveller tells him of the twelve sultans in the city of Rome who have made it their business to destroy the Hindus Vimal marches on them with his army, which is described in detail A battle follows Vimal is victorious, and returns to his city in triumph (canto vii) Then is described Vimal's war with the Brāhman king of Thathā in Sindh (canto viii) and, finally, the reader is treated to an account of the greatness of Jain religion and to an autobiographical note (canto ix)

Vimal was a heroic figure during the days preceding those of Siddharāja, but the story of the poet is entirely fictitious For a study of contemporary manners the work is invaluable, but, as literature, of little worth

## IX

Half a century after Lāvanyasamay, we encounter Nayasundar He lived between *c* 1560 and 1620, resided for a long time in Gujarāt, and had a lady disciple, Hemaśrī, who composed Kanakāvatī (*c* 1585) Nayasundar, like

all Jain *sādhus*, travelled far and wide, and was a student of the Sanskrit, Prākrit, Hindu and Urdu literatures He left three social *rāsas—Rūpachandrakunvararās* (c 1581), *Surasundarīrās* (c 1590), and *Prabhāvatīrās*, besides one Purānic *rās*, *Naladamayantī* and two religious works

*Rūpachandrarās* is one of the best written social *rāsas* of the century The miraculous elements are to some extent repressed, or relegated to interlude tales The diction is inaccurate, but ornate, and largely influenced by Sanskrit It contains a much larger element of local and foreign words, is more rhetorical than Bhālan's, and, at places, develops a music and elegance of its own The detailed descriptions of the conventional sort are often relieved by a freshness of outlook and humour

After the inevitable description of lands, the prosperity of Mālwā is described, 'the happy land which has no thieves, where there is plenty of affection but no selfishness' Then is given a detailed account of its capital, Ujjayinī, of its palaces, temples and marts 'with bejewelled merchants, fat and handsome, whose hands never leave oft twisting their mustaches, their gaze fixed on customers' In that city, resided a merchant Dhanadatt and his wife Dhanasundarī The author points out at great length how a good woman is a blessing and a bad one a curse (canto i)

The merchant and his wife had a son, Rūpadev His infancy is described with a wealth of realistic detail Rūpadev is put to school and the ceremony connected with going to school is described, as also the subjects he learns there The thirty-two qualities of a perfect man are then enumerated Rūpachand's marriage, and the ceremonies, dinner and festivities connected with it, are described with picturesque details (canto ii) The description holds good in every respect in many parts of Gujarāt and Mārwāḍ even to-day

Gunasen, a tributary of the king of Kanauj, comes to live in Ujjayinī with his beautiful daughter Sohāg, who has decided not to marry She attains her seventeenth year 'The flood of youth increases, and Kāmadev, the god of love and youth, comes and lives in her body She wants to see a drama, but her friend restrains her "How can song and

dance be heard and seen by an unmarried girl?" The girl feels very miserable, for she has not yet found the man whom she could love How is she to find him? The friend asks her to have confidence in her womanly instincts A woman always wins

> In a moment, she weeps, and, in a moment again, she smiles and puts the minds of helpless men on trial She can speak one thing and do another A woman has no peer in the world

The friend then tells her the story of the clever wife of King Vikram's son and, in telling it, relates a few miraculous events (canto iii) But Sohāg longs for a husband fit to be her mate The friend first brings her king Vikram as a suitor, but he is unable to solve the riddles proposed by the girl, and is rejected Sohāg then asks her to fetch Rūpachand, she has seen him buying betel leaf at the shop opposite her house The friend goes to the young merchant but finds him unresponsive But she persists

> She saw you once with her eyes, but she has been mad after you since Her every moment is endless as a hundred years Dame Lotus lives in the lake and the Sun in the sky, but she blooms only when he appears [9]

And the poet declares

> When you look at a man, and your body and mind rejoice and the eyes grow fond, do not desert him even if life departs [10]

Rūpachand comes to Sohāg and is struck by her perfect beauty Then follows a conventional description of her limbs with stereotyped similes He falls in love with her at once 'Again and again he looks at her, for his eyes are insatiate' The lovers then spend the night together Sohāg is happy

> He is the very lover who visited her in her dreams, she decides to borrow the thousand eyes of Indra to be able to look at him again and again

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9 एक वार तु नयणथी, दीठो दूर रहयाय ,
तिहाथी लागो वेधडो, क्षण वर्षा सो थाय
कमलिनी सरवरमा वसे, सूर्य वसे आकाश ,
जव देखे पिउ आपणो, तव ते थाय विकास

10 जे दीठे तम मन हसे, नयणा धरे सनेह,
ते माणस नवि मूकिये, प्राण त्यजे जो देह

A passage at arms in solving riddles follows Their sports are then described in the usual fulsome style (canto iv)

Spies inform the king that the girl who rejected him has accepted Rūpachand In the morning, the offended king sends for Dhanadatta and his sons The *mahājan* of the town, anticipating the king's wrath, accompanies the merchant The description is very picturesque, and gives an excellent idea of the *mahājans* in India who brought to bear the pressure of public opinion on irresponsible kings The king lets go all except Rūpachand He takes him to his palace and inquires how he solved the riddles of Sohāg. The young man feigns stupidity

> I am a merchant and can only weigh spices A Vanik is stupid I only do business by telling nonsensical half-truths How can I who spend my life like this, know so much?[11]

The king has him whipped like a thief through the streets of the city But Rūpachand declines to disclose his secret The unrelenting king gives orders for his execution Hearing this, the town is in a ferment Pressure of public opinion ultimately induces the king to rescind the order

The king's curiosity to discover the solution of the riddles propounded by Sohāg is still irrespressible He marries his daughter to Rūpachand in order to worm them out of him Sohāg writes a touching epistle, to which Rūpachand forwards a suitable reply Later, the princess, who by then has become a dutiful wife, asks Rūpachand how he solved the riddles of Sohāg The husband, bound by promise, tells the solution to his wife, the princess, who communicates them to her father The king, in a fit of joy, celebrates the marriage of Rūpachand and Sohāg The rest of the poem, unconnected with the main story, relates the adventures of Siddhasen Divākar and the conversion of Vikram to Jainism In course of time, Rūpachand becomes a *sādhu*

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11 अमो हिगतोल वाणिया, ओछा वणिगतणा प्राणिया
करीए विविधपरे व्यापार, जूठा साचा लवी अपार ,
इण परे घरनो निर्वाह करे, तो तेहने ए किम साभरे ?

Nayasundar's *Naladamayantīrās* is considered to be a rendering of a lost Sanskrit work called *Nalāyana*, composed by Mānikyachandra in Divā in Gujarāt (*c* 1220) It is not in the author's best style, but, with this work composed a hundred years earlier, one can easily understand how Premānand came to write his masterpiece *Surasundarīrās* is a comparatively inferior work It is a rapid recital of the adventures which overtakes a princess abandoned in a forest by her husband

Nayasundar represents the authors in Old Gujarāt who adopted a style and manner exactly the reverse of Bhālan's Bhālan introduced the essential features of *rās* namely, popular sentiments and the forms in which they were expressed into what was primarily a rendering of a Sanskrit poem His object was to create a literature for a fairly intelligent class which had lost touch with Sanskrit Nayasundar enriched old *rāsa* stories with a wealth of literary and emotional reminiscences from Sanskrit works, and thereby produced a work which helped to raise the level of popular literature Both these movements starting from a different point of view met in the next century, when literature took a well-defined shape suited to the taste of the people as a whole Purānic *akhyāyikās* became popular tales and popular tales became transformed into poems of literary workmanship, at the same time, long and stereotyped descriptions remained the inartistic feature of both

X

*Kusumaśrīrās* by Gangāvijay is an interesting piece of social *rās* composed in c 1652 It is written in popular diction, approximating to Modern Gujarātī and unburdened by Sanskrit words and imagery The story, which is mainly in *duhā* with conversations in *deśī,* is well-told The author's technique is superior to that of many other well-known poets His sly humour is unusual with old Gujarātī authors One of the interlude tales, perhaps borrowed from an old source, is very interesting

Dhanasundar, a merchant living in the town of Ratnapur, goes abroad on a trading enterprise, leaving his wife

Dhanavatī in the care of his friend, Purohit, the priest of the king Purohit comes to the merchant's and is well received by the lady Attracted by her beauty and intelligence, he declares his love to Dhanavatī She tries to reason with him, but the priest is not to be put off The helpless lady makes an appointment with him for the first quarter of the night, and, not knowing how to get rid of this disloyal friend of her husband, goes to Durgapāl, the commandant of the fort, with the complaint Durgapāl, equally struck with the charms of the unfortunate lady, promises to get rid of the priest if he himself is received as a favoured lover She is in a quandary and gives him an appointment for the second quarter of the night

In her terrible plight, she turns to the minister who is very properly shocked at the conduct of the two officials, and promises to get rid of them if she will accept him as a lover She makes an appointment with him for the third quarter of the night, and approaches the king, as the final court of appeal, for protection against the evil intentions of his officers He promises protection promptly, but on the very same condition the others had imposed The lady, now desperate, invites him to come to her in the fourth quarter of the night

Dhanavatī, though in distress, has the ingenuity to discover a means of escape out of this four-fold calamity She has a long box with four compartments opening separately, brought down to her room She also takes an old neighbour into her confidence and gets her to help carry out her plan of action She requests her to spread a rumour in the town early next morning that news had been received of her husband's death, to collect the ladies of the town, and to come to her house

The fateful night arrives The priest arrives smartly dressed and self-satisfied Dhanavatī, sweet, affectionate and ready to yield, invites him to dinner At the end of the first quarter, the commandant knocks at the door The priest is frightened and is induced by the lady to conceal himself in one of the compartments of the trunk

The commandant enters He, too, is well received and is entertained with talk and food Time flies, the minister

knocks at the door, and Dhanavatī obligingly accommodates the commandant in another compartment of the trunk The minister, like the two that preceded him, seeks safety in the third compartment of the trunk when the king knocks at the door The lady's fascinating talk diverts the king, but just as he feels that he is gaining ground, the women of the town arrive beating their breasts with lamentations at Dhanasundar's death Frightened, the king finds security in the fourth compartment of the trunk

News of Dhanasundar's death spreads in the town As Dhanavatī is now a childless widow, the authorities, according to law, want to take possession of the merchant's wealth But the king, the minister, the general and the priest are not to be found Ultimately, the queen orders the officers to take possession of the dead man's wealth When the officers arrive at her house, Dhanavatī, all tears, confesses her ignorance of the whereabouts of her husband's wealth, but points to the trunk as, perhaps, the only receptacle which may contain it The officers find the trunk very heavy, and, anticipating a rich addition to the royal coffers, hastily carry it to the queen

The queen, struck with the heaviness of the trunk, is anxious to acquaint herself with the exact amount of wealth it contains Dismissing the servants, she opens the first compartment Out walks the priest, and the queen, perplexed, asks him how he came to be there The priest, without offering any explanation, requests her to open the second The process is continued, the second, the third, and the fourth compartments are opened, and the general, the minister and the king all stand before the queen, dumbfounded in self-confessed guilt

## IX

Another *sādhu* of considerable literary powers was Samayasundar who flourished between *c* 1580 and 1642 He was an indefatigable author, and composed about twenty long works, besides a large number of small poems Many of his works are *rāsās* in the orthodox style and deal with *tīrthankars* and saints He wrote *Naladamayantīrās* (*c* 1617), and *Sītārāmchupāī* (*c* 1672) He used many

new *dhāls* or *deśī* melodies which, on his own testimony, became popular The rhetorical flavour of his style and his humorous descriptions both closely approach Premā-nand's His vivid picture of Krishna as an astrologer in *Sāmbapradyumna*, but for its older language, might be mistaken to be from the pen of the latter

Yet another Jain author, Rishabhadās, must be mentioned, if not for his literary merits, at least for the untiring energy with which he spun his thirty-two works His literary activities were spread over a period from *c* 1617 to 1632 About sixteen of his works are *rāsās* on *tīrthankars* and saints There are two on Kumārapāl, and one on Hīravijaya, an eminent Jain preceptor (*c* 1517-1596) who induced emperor Akbar to issue *firmāns* prohibiting violence to animals on certain days in the year, and who, in consequence, assumed mythological proportions for his pupils The poet spun out his *rāsās* in a dull and uniform style He lacked the art of telling a story, like many other so called poets of the period, he had nothing new to say

CHAPTER VI

# AKHO AND THE GOSPEL OF OTHER-WORLDLINESS

The Moguls—Economic conditions of Gujarāt—Social life—Venkatādhvarin on Gujarāt—Other-worldliness—Akhā Bhakta (1615-1674) — Life — Works — Chhappās — Philosophical works —His influence

IN the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, Gujarāt regained lost ground As a province of the Mogul empire, it enjoyed a sort of settled existence and grew prosperous once again The people succeeded in confining political influences to limited spheres, and stiffened social barriers so as to secure contentment and happiness within narrow grooves Restricted life drove restive minds to harp upon the worthlessness of the world, while the prevailing contentment led genial spirits of the age to create a new literary tradition

## I

When Akbar, in 1573, formed the province of Gujarāt, he sliced off some districts, annexing them to Khāndesh and Mālwā Mārwād, also, was finally separated from Gujarāt The province was largely immune from wars and land-taxes, though the great nobles to whom the Emperor entrusted the government administered it by deputies, who never cared to carry out the constructive policy enjoined by the imperial edicts Except for an invasion of South Gujarāt in 1600 by Malik Ambar, the governor of the Nizam at Daulatābād, this state of affairs continued till 1644 In that year Aurangzib, then the viceroy, gave the province a fore-taste of the intolerant policy which was to characterize his rule

After Aurangzīb came to the throne, Śivājī first invaded Surat in 1664, and the imperial authority grew weak Soon the Marāthā raids became a normal feature of life Bāglān, the guardian fortress of the south, passed into their hands in 1672 They raided Broach in 1675, and again in 1685, Surat in 1699, and Broach, once again, in 1705 Two years

later Aurangzib died, and the Mogul empire began tottering to a fall

II

Under the Moguls, Gujarāt regained its prosperity Cambay was the most flourishing port in India "It was impossible," wrote Vaithema, a European traveller (1503-1508) "to describe its excellence" Surat was another port of international importance Ghoghā as a port rose into prominence Padre Ovington (1690) was in ecstasy at the matchless ingenuity and skill of Gujarātī bankers, weavers and ship-carpenters "No other province in India," said Kāfikhān (1719) "can equal this rich province" European travellers and Indian historians vie with one another in extolling the magnificence of Ahmedābād with its three hundred and eighty suburbs, each of them, according to *Mīrat-i-Ahmedī*, (1756), was of 'considerable size containing good buildings and markets filled with everything valuable and rare, so that each was almost a city'

III

During this period men were being driven into progressively narrowing communities Social barriers were stiffened, the individual was sacrificed to the group Untouchability came into existence *Vimalaprabandh* records the existence of numerous sub-castes Every social group which acquired a new local habitation and name by migration remained a self-contained unit and exercised rigorous control over its members Marriage between members of different castes was prohibited Disintegration of the joint family which had commenced prior to the date of the law-text, *Mitāksharā* (11th century), was sternly resisted

Wise men, poets and moralists were moved to righteous indignation at young wives who desirous of having a good time with their husbands, drove them to disrupt the family, and, thereby, to destroy the protection which it afforded No measures were deemed too strong to restrain these centrifugal tendencies of women They lost the high status which they once enjoyed in the family, and were generally treated as slaves Co-education in village schools came to

an end Marriage of infants became almost universal In *Mārudholāchupāī*, the hero, when three years old, was married to the heroine who was younger Bhīma (1485) bewails the degeneracy of the age in which girls were mothers at eight, and widows at sixteen Old men paid fancy price for infant wives Marriage of a grown-up girl with an infant husband was by no means rare An ill-assorted match was the rule In *Rūpachandakunvar rās*, Sohāg says

> Better kill me, mother, with your own hands, place, if you like, a black, venomous cobra on my body, let me suffer the fearful misery of hell, but, do not give me in marriage to a stupid man

"In this world you never find one thing," runs a *garabī*, "you never find a well-matched pair" The position of a girl in the house of her husband was insufferable In a popular *garabī*, styled *Kera Kānto,* the Thorn, a young wife enumerates her father-in-law, mother-in-law etc , as thorns in her side

Men were, as a rule, much married Many a story leaves an unpleasant impression on the modern mind because of the light-heartedness with which the hero marries and supersedes wives Dholā, when in search of his first wife, is willing to see the second dead and burned, and only because she loved him too well Even a married woman was helpless When her husband decides to start for a foreign land, Surasundarī says, "If you leave me behind, people will spread scandals about me" Dhanavatī, under similar circumstances, is more emphatic

> No one will respect me even in my father's house No one will ever pay me any attention The world will call me a helpless woman When her husband is with her, a woman can do what she likes She can talk with dignity, she can treat every man with contempt A woman, when her husband is away, is bereft of her senses, she is more dead than alive

In the Gujarāt of the Chālukyas, remarriage of widows was not considered disreputable But in the fifteenth century, Bhālan bewailed their lot 'Pious and charitable widows are treated like dirt If they keep themselves tidy, they are suspected of immorality.' Early in the eighteenth

century, Premānand regards remarriage of widows as an abomination

And society remained the same till the beginning of the twentieth century

## IV

But these social activities were not the result of decay, but of a purposive corporate effort to preserve life from destruction Within their castes the people were happy Vallabh in his bombastic style thus describes Gujarāt in 1704

> I have seen many lands, wandered over the earth I have gone beyond Attock to see wars Some things are found in some places, and other things in others But every sort of happiness is not to be found in these lands, you see something wanting But, in virtuous Gujarāt, you see men and women equipped with food, drink, and wealth One thing more It has something unique the great, the powerful among the fair, Love Yet another one like her, nay a greater lady, *Dayā* (compassion) lives here In this Gujarāt live the merciful, the generous, the honourable, the wealthy, and the learned Go to any place in India yourself you will never find the qualities for which Gujarāt is famous [1]

This description is too effusive, but the testimony of Venkatādhvarin of Telangana, the author of a *champū*, *Viśvagunādarśa* (c 1640) requires to be noted

> See this Gurjaradesa, Visvāvasu Full of wealth and plenty, this land is another paradise Its young men have their mouth full of fresh *pān*, fragrant with camphor and sweet betel-nut They put on fancy, bright-coloured dress, attracting admiration, they adorn themselves with shin-

1 सर्वस्व ए सुख का'वे, लह्यु कोक देशे काक ,
तोय एक वानु नथी, भूमिमा भले भमो
नर अने नारी जुओ, गुणियल गूजराते,
खाना पाना धाना सर्व, वळी वधु एक छे
स्त्रीलिंगमा जोराळी जे, महत्ववाळी छे माया,
अधिकी तेथी छे आ तो, साक्षीओ अनेक छे ,
तेवी के तेथी वधारे, दया दयिता छे वर,
अन्य स्थळ अल्प दीसे, अत्र छक्को छेक छे ,

दयावान दानवान, मान पान धानवान,
विद्यावान हता गया, एवो गूजरात आ ;
भाळोने भरतखड, भमो भमो भले जाते,
गूजरातकेरा गुण, वारू तो विख्यात आ !

ing ornaments of jewels Their bodies are fragrant with sandal-scented paste They seek pleasure in company with damsels beautiful as Rati

The beauty of the young damsels of this land is incomparable Their colour is molten gold, their lips are soft and red, their hands are delicate as sprouts, their speech is sweet as nectar, their face is lotus like, their eyes have the lustre of dark lotus in them What graces of these young Gujarāti damsels do not fascinate?[2]

The poet also refers to the wealth of Gujarāt

The people visit different countries, observe their novelties, and also acquire measureless wealth Then they return home, and meet their loyal wives, anxious to meet them, after a long period of separation In this way, these blessed ones, rich with every possession, enjoy untold happiness[3]

The works of Premānand, Vallabh and Śāmal corroborate *Venkatādhvarin* Political power was ignored, if effectively segregated The land was rich, men contented, and life even The Purānic order of things was accepted as eternal Society, though subdivided, was self-contained, a sense of interdependence and service permeated all its strata Social structure had lost freedom, but gained power of resistance The culture had thus triumphed in the hour of its apparent defeat

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2 स एष सर्वसपदामास्पदतया त्रिदशालयस्यादेश इव गुर्ज्जरदेशश्चक्षुषो सुखाकरोति । अत्र हि——

सकर्पूरस्वादुक्रमुकनववीटीरसलसन्
मुखा सर्वश्लाघापदविविधदिव्याबरधरा ।
लसद्रत्नाकल्पा घुमघुमितदेहाश्च घुसृणैर्
युवानो मोदन्ते युवतिभिरमी तुल्यरतिभिः ॥

अत्र वधूनामप्यन्यादृश सौंदर्यम्——

तप्तस्वर्णसवर्णमगकमिद ताम्रो मृदुश्चाधर
पाणीप्राप्तनवप्रवालसरणी वाणी सुधाधोरणी ।
वक्त्र वारिजमित्रमुत्पलदलश्रीसूचने लोचने
के वा गुर्जरसुभ्रुवामवयवा यूना न मोहावहा ॥

• • • • •

3 देशे देशे किमपि कुतुकादद्भुत लोकमाना
सपाद्यैव द्रविणममित सद्म भूयोप्यवाप्य ।
सयुज्यन्ते सुचिरविरहोत्कठिताभि सतीभि
सौख्य धन्या किमपि दधते सर्वसपत्समृद्धा ॥

## V

The Muslim rulers were accepted by the people as part of their normal existence Many of them were Hindu converts, their proselytizing zeal had abated, and their self-interest linked them to a people who could replenish their treasury when required *Bhakti* lost its vigour as a new impulse By its very nature, its intensity could only be the privilege of the select, and the new Vaishnavism and its pleasure-loving high-priests had given it a new shape The heroism of a Kānhaḍade or a Narasimh Mahetā had become a thing of the past

Wealth and contentment without heroism stunted the ideals of life and produced resentment among the thoughtful What was the use of this world, they asked, so stale, so unchanging, so sordid? Contemplation of the futility of life induced in them the morbid attitude of mind which characterized both the Jain *sādhu* and the ascetic Vedāntin In a classical poem, Śankarāchārya had expressed it centuries ago

> This life is fleeting, more transient than a drop of water on a lotus leaf To be born, to die, and, again, to live in a mother's womb In such a world, difficult to be crossed, nothing can save one except the grace of Murāri

And, therefore, pleasures had to be eschewed and liberty destroyed Men and women had to be made other-worldly, for, a death-like existence in this life was a necessary precursor of a happy existence after death Woman was the gate of hell, the curse of creation, an encumbrance in this life, a hindrance to the next To be a good man was to be a man dead to the joys of life With this current also mixed the influence of Rāmānand, which through Kabir, Nānak and others maintained a tradition of devotion to God, the saint, and individual saintliness This gospel of living death was preached by its literary exponents styled '*jñānī kavis*', poets of philosophic thought, with irrepressible rancour, time and again In the 16th century this tradition is represented by Dhanraj, 'a *jñānī kavi*', the fragments of whose *Vānī*, still survive

## VI

Akho or Akhā Bhagat (*c* 1615-1674) voiced this gospel He was a goldsmith of Ahmedābād, originally from the neighbouring village of Jetalpur For some time he worked as the head of the royal mint He lost his wife early, and also a sister whom he dearly loved Forgetting the traditional dishonesty of the goldsmith, he secretly added his own gold in preparing an ornament for a lady whom he cherished as a sister The lady would not believe that a goldsmith could so flagrantly depart from the recognised maxims of his trade, and had the ornament tested to find out the truth When she found that he had spoken the truth, she went to thank him for his kindness Akho, however, was shocked at the lady's suspicions, and came to hate a world so full of distrust and suspicion In the meantime he was put into prison on a charge of committing defalcation The charge, however, was not proved, and he was set free Weary of life, he threw his implements into a well and went abroad seeking peace of mind

He sought refuge in prayer, performed many rituals, but found no peace He went to Gokul in the hope of obtaining spiritual assistance from the *goswāmī,* the head of the Vaishnav sect

> There I accepted Gokulnāth as my teacher, he passed a string through my nose [4]

He was feasted, he observed the festivities of the sect, but his spirit rose in revolt

> He (the *goswāmī*) had, no doubt, become a *guru* But with a stone round his own neck, how can he keep himself afloat? He did not know Hari at all, he was merely posing as a teacher [5]

At war with himself and the world, he went to Kāśī, where, hiding himself behind a wall, he heard the principles of Vedāntic philosophy expounded by a *sanyāsin* The philosophy of Śankarāchārya gave him the solace he needed

Akhā, now a complete believer in *vairāgya,* non-attachment, gave up his wealth On his return journey to

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4 गुरु कर्या में गोकुळनाथ, गुरुए मुजने घाली नाथ.

5 गुरु थई बेठो होंशे करी, कठे पहाण, शके क्यम तरी ?
पोते हरि नहीं जाणे लेश, काढी बैठो गुरुनो वेश

He was, however, very poorly equipped for literary work The words which he used were very often inappropriate His knowledge of prosody, grammar and syntax was meagre His meaning was often shrouded in obscurity He treated Sanskrit with lofty contempt

What is the use of speaking in Sanskrit? Nothing is lost by speaking in Prakrit [7]

His attitude towards other poets was equally contemptuous

Poets only make an empty noise to make themselves heard, like the thunders of the sky when the constellation, Rohini, is in the ascendant They only want to be worshipped, they join couplet to couplet, full of empty words One is a poet, he composes much and yet does not think of Brahma, he only collects wealth by transacting business in love and hatred What does he gain by it? [8]

He has no faith in those who teach religious precepts

They only bring up water from a deep well with a torn leather drunk with wine [9]

A shallow man of learning is a quarrelsome woman whose conceit is pampered by the birth of a son, a vicious bull who has fattened himself by grazing in the rains, a mad dog attacked with rabies, a monkey drunk with wine [10]

Be your own teacher, worship the soul within [11]

He hates religious forms

He has spent fifty-three years in making religious marks on his body, his rosaries have been worn out, his feet are tired with wandering from one sacred place to another, yet he has not reached Hari

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7 सस्कृत बोले ते शु थयु, काइ प्राकृतमाथी नाशी गयु

8. कविए शक्य जणावा काज, गाजे जेम रोहेणीनो गाज ,

... ....

पूजावा मनमा बहु कोड, शब्दतणा जोडे छे जोड ,

कवि थइने अधिकुं शु कव्यु, जोता नही ब्रह्म अणचव्यु ,
रागद्वेषनी पूजी करी, कवि व्यापार बेठो आदरी ,
तेमा अखा शु पामे लाभ . . .

9. उडो कूवो ने फाटी बोख, शिखव्यु साभळयु सघणु फोक

10 ओछु पात्र न अदकु भण्यो, वढकणी वहुए दीकरो जण्यो.
मारकणो साढ चोमासु महाल्यो, करडकणा कुतराने हडकवा हाल्यो ;
मरकट ने वळी मदिरा पीए, अखा एथी सौ को बीहे

11. गुरुथा तारो तुज .. ..वाळच अतरमा सेवा.

Hearing religious recitals again and again, I have grown deaf, but the knowledge of Brahma has not come to Akhā [12]

He holds up to ridicule men whose 'gods are as numerous as the stones they worship' [13]

They seek religious comfort after they have grown old and lost their vitality and wealth [14]

Religion is a fruitless, internecine quarrel, one says Rāma, the other Allāh [1]

Do not pride yourself on your being a Vaishnava, do not go about enjoying feasts from door to door A king is he who performs kingly deeds, not he who merely calls himself a king [16]

He hates the social system, which degrades the untouchables and makes Brāhmans and Vaiśyas masters

To Nārāyan, none is high, and none low This world is made up of five elements but a fool takes pride in his caste In order to maintain their caste, some are called the head, some the waist, and some the feet But, really, the Brāhman, the Kshatriya, Vaisya and Śūdra all make up the body of Hari Who is then a Śūdra? [17]

He is contemptuous towards the *purāniks*

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12 तिलक करता त्रेपन वह्या, जपमाळाना नाका गया ,
तीर्थ फरीफरी थाक्या चर्ण, तोय न पहोता हरिने शर्ण ,
कथा सुणी सुणी फूटचा कान, अखा तोय नाव्यु ब्रह्मज्ञान

13 एक मूर्ख ने एवी टेव, पत्थर एटला पूजे देव

14 वृद्ध थयो वठचु मन-तन, उपाय टळयो ने खूटचु धन,
त्यारे धर्म साधवा जाय .

15 आपे आपमा उठी बला, एक कहे राम ने एक कहे अल्ला.

16 फूलीश मा नाम वैष्णव धरे, शु थयु घेरे घेर खातो फरे ;
कइ राजा नाम धर्ये नोय राज, नरपति थये नरपतिनु काज .

17 आभडछेट अन्त्यजनी जणी, ब्राह्मण वैष्णव कीधा धणी .

त्यम ऊच नीच न गणे नारायण,.. .. . . . .

भूतपंचनो आ ससार, मुरख ते वहे वर्ण अहकार ;
भात चालवा वर्णावर्ण, को मस्तक हस्त कटि चर्ण ;
ब्राह्मण क्षत्रिय वश्य ने शूद्र, हरिनो पिंड अखा कोण क्षूण.

Some wish to obtain the favour of those who died in the past How can they who read about corpses be happy?[18]

He sums up his gospel of other-worldliness succinctly

Opium and worldliness are alike to him who tastes them The more he takes them, the more tasteful they appear If he leaves them, he dies If he takes to them, he is dead[19]

## VIII

The poet's longer works are philosophical rather than literary In spite of his arrogant refusal to call himself a poet and his obscure and ungrammatical style, Akhā's poetic flashes lighten his philosophical works, producing images of great vividness and beauty In *Anubhavabindu*, he thus illustrates philosophic doctrines

The waters of the sea spread in all directions They spread on the earth, the vegetation grows luxuriantly What of it is left rushes down the hills, and it bears the name of a river People hold it sacred and bathe in it It rolls on proudly Akhā! No one sees its beginning But Śrī Hari is as the sea, while life is but the river-flow

The hot season passes away, the monsoon spreads in lovely colours The lightning flashes, the gentle winds exhilarate the mind, the moon shines everywhere, all distress is quieted In the same way, the delusions of the senses disappear before the refulgence of the Supreme Consciousness[20]

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18 भूत काळमा जे थइ गया, तेनी मनमा इच्छे मया ,
अखा वेली केम टाळे व्यथा, जे नित्य वाचे मडदानी कथा.

• •

19 एक अफीण बीजो ससारी रस, अधिक करे तेम आपे कस ,
जेम जेम अधिकु खातो जाय, अगे अकले हीणो थाय ;
जो मूके तो मुवे सरे, नहीं तो अखा ते खातो मरे

20 वारिधिकेरू वारि, चार दिश मध्ये चाले ;
पृथ्वी पर पथराय, वनराजी फूले फाले
ऊगरतू रहे अंबु सर्व ढली आवे ढाले ,
ते नदी नाम धराय ; न्हाय सहु, बहु महिमा लेहे
गर्वभरी गाजे अखा ! शरू न जुए सरिता सही
जेम सागर, तेम श्रीहरी , वच्चे जीवनदी वही.

• • •

जेम जाय ऋतु जलद, शरद ऋतु रूडी दीसे
दामिनीदमक पलाय; वाय हलवे मन हीसे ,
चहुदिश चमके चंद ; धंद सहु मननूं भागे ,
तेम भागे भवभ्रांति काति द्वितीयानी आगे.

In *Akhegītā,* he describes the manifestation of the Supreme Soul thus

> The moon floods the world with light, her rays spread over the forests, glades and temple tops, even so the Supreme Soul pervades the sense world, and penetrates into the recesses of the heart [21]

Akhā did not possess Narasimh's subjectivity, nor his glorious wings of passion But his *bhakti* was not devoid of personal touch, a world-hater though he was He describes a *bhakta* in *Akhegītā*

> He sings with the throb of tears in his voice, his limbs are a-quiver He sheds tears of joy His heart is full, he is inspired by love While eating, drinking, and speaking, he sees Rāma His mind is pervaded by Him He is indifferent to his worldly duties His heart is soft as butter, full of affection His eyes are filled with ambrosia He is but a field for the *bhakti* of Hari to grow The mind of a young woman, engrossed in her lover, lives in him, she sees him and none else all day and night And so does the mind of a slave of Hari live with Him [22]

He had philosophic insight, his study of Vedānta was deep But the poetic value of his works often lies in the Vedāntic conceptions and images in which, from the days of the *Upanishads*, the great Indian philosophers have embodied thought, his real contribution has been to use them with great force and appropriateness in the language

One more instance may be given of a felicitous use of Vedāntic images He describes supreme bliss in *Akhegītā* thus

> What unknown bliss is mine to-day? I comprehend the Incomprehensible, I praise the Perfect Brahma, the Lord transcending the Lord

---

21 उदय उजाळो दे जेम चद्रमा जी,
किरण तेहना पसरे वनवीयी मद्रमा जी,
तेम सरखो आतम भासे कीट इन्द्रमा जी,
एहवो प्रगटचो हृदयाकन्द्रमा जी

22 गद्‌गद् कठे गाते थके रोमाचित होये गात्र,
हर्ष आसु बहु हेत हृदय प्रेम केरु ते पात्र ,
खातो पीतो बोलतो देखतो ते सगळे राम,
वेध्यु मन रहे तेहनु शिथिल ससारी काम
नवनीत सरख् हृदे कोमल कह्च् न जाए हेत,
आख माहे अमृत भरियु हरि भक्ति केरु क्षेत्र ;
ज्यम जार वळुधी युवती तेनु मन रहे प्रीतमपास,
आहर्निश रहे आलोचती भाइ एहवु मन हरिदास.

of Māyā He rules Vishnu, Śiva and Brahmā The Living Essence shines from nothingness He is indescribable, neither all pervading nor atomic when you know Him, all phenomena fade away He stands revealed in reality, karma touches him not, nor time, He pervades all[23]

## IX

Up to the beginning of the modern period, many poets echoed the note of Akhā,—a note which came out of a bitter heart, weary of the stagnant social and political conditions in Gujarāt Neither art nor insight characterised their outlook on life This class of cheerless literature consisted of monotonous *padas* on *śringāra*, on *jñāna*, describing the vanity of life, on *vairāgya*, praising other-worldliness and despising the joys of life

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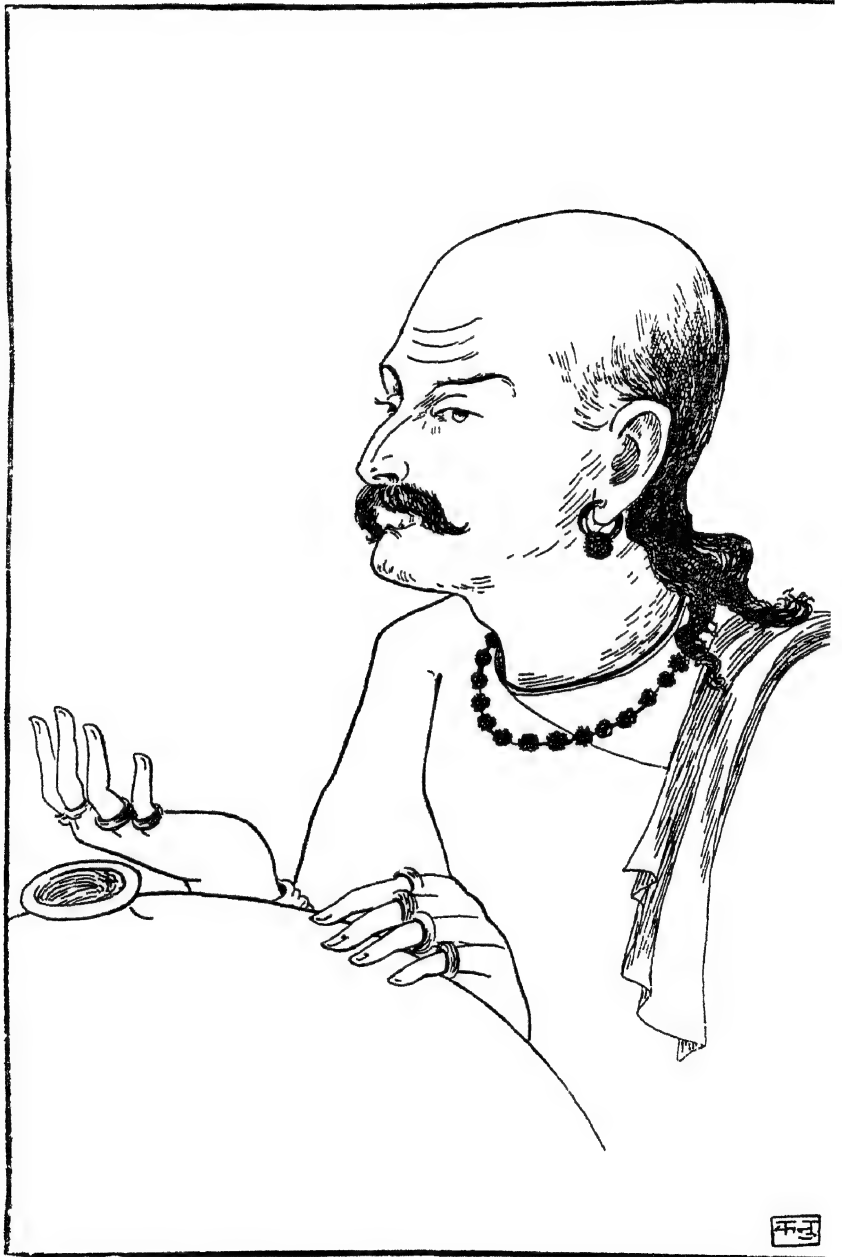
23 अभिनवो आनन्द आज अगोचर गोचर हवु ए ,
परपचपार महाराज ते पूरण ब्रह्म स्तवु ए
हरिहर अज भुवनेश ते तणो ईश अजापति ए ;

•

स्वे चैतन्यघनराय शून्यमा सोहामणो ए ,
ते नावे वाणी माह्य ते नहि विराट ने वामणो ए

•

ए जाण्ये जाए जजाल, यथारथ ज्यम त्यम थयु ए ,
जिहा कर्म न लागे काल, सभर भराइ ते रह्यू ए
तिहा हवु मन लेलीन, जइ चैतन्य सभर भर्यु ए
नाहि को दाता दीन, तन्मय सहजे सज थयु ए
प्रगटचा कोटि कल्याण आपापर विणश्ये रह्यु ए ,
सदा सदोदित भाण उदे अस्त कारण गयु ए
कहे अखो आनन्द अनुभवने लहेवा तणो ए ,
एहवो पूरण परमानन्द नित्य सराहु अति घणो ए

PREMĀNAND

CHAPTER VII

# PREMĀNAND

The literary consciousness of Gujarāt—Visvanāth Jānī—Premānand—His life—His works—His literary characteristics—His realistic art—His personal note—His philosophy of life—The *ākhyān* in his hands—*Okhāharan* (1667)—*Abhimanyu-ākhyān* (1671) — *Hundī* (1674) — *Śrāddh* (1681) — *Māmerun* (1683) — *Nalākhyān* (1685)—*Ranayajña* (1685)—*Ashtāvakrākhyān* (1719) —*Sudamācharitr* (1682)—*Dasamaskandh*—The plays attributed to him—Vallabh (1704)—*Mitradharmākhyān*—Ratnesvar—Sāmal bhatt (*c* 1700)—His position in literature—His style and technique—His *chhappās*

BY the beginning of the seventeenth century, Gujarāt as a province of the Mogul empire, had settled down to a sort of peaceful existence A new literary tradition arose; and the form, the expression, and the technique for which the *rāsā* or *ākhyān* stood, together with its frame-work of Purānic episodes or popular fiction, were made a medium for a realistic treatment of life

I

The exponents of this tradition found in the life of Narasimh Mahetā a new and fertile source of inspiration Popular imagination had been busy surrounding him with miraculous achievements About 1584 Vishnudās of Khambhāt and another poet composed *Mamerun* About 1645 an unknown poet rearranged *Hāramālā,* celebrating the incident in which Śrī Krishna gave the saint a garland in the court of Rā Māṇḍalik Viśvanāth Jānī (1625-1675) was a well-known poet who composed *Mośālācharitr* (1652) about another incident Soon after, Krishnadās composed a *Hundī* (1657) In 1678 Premānand edited *Hāramālā,* and set about composing brilliant works on well-known incidents in Narasimh's life [1]

II

Premānand, son of Krishna of Baroda, was the greatest literary figure of the age, a Sathodra Brāhman by caste

1 *Ante* p 139, Munshi *Narasaiyo Bhakta Harino* Introduction (Guj.) pp 36, 47, 51

Few authentic details of his life have come down to us Most of the details are provided by works attributed to him, but in reality forming part of the Baroda forgeries [2] According to these works the poet was left an orphan in his infancy, and taken for an idiot In the company of a *sanyāsin* Rāmacharan, he toured North India, studying Sanskrit and Hindī, then the language of culture At first, Premānand wrote in Hindī, but his Guru disapproved of his efforts "Why neglect your door-steps and go in search of a distant mountain?" Accepting the advice, he restricted his literary activities to his mother tongue

He began his career as a *gāgariā bhat* in Surat, then the richest port of the Mughal empire He at once gained popularity, and was in demand at Baroda, Nandurdbar, and Khāndesh The young poet was diffident He says, "I beseech the poets not to find fault with my works" But, before long, he acquired courage and confidence

He made good money, and spent it generously in the orthodox style, feasting the Brahmans His son says, "He caused a river of ghee to flow, and God himself built the banks of sugar"

*Purānikas* were very costly, I felt anxious about it So I decided to show to the people the difficult path to heaven, and made this aerial car of Prakrit

His was a prosperous and uneventful life solely dedicated to literature He is said to have died at the ripe old age of ninety-eight, though there is no trace of him after 1700 More likely he died at the age of about sixty He left fifty-two disciples, twelve of whom were women, devoted to the cause of literature On his death-bed he is said to have given directions that, out of his disciples, his son, Vallabh should write in the style of Hindī poets, Ratneśvar in the style of Marāṭhī poets, Virji in that of Persian poets, and Sundar in the style of the Purānīs

## III

The works of Premānand were very popular, and kept alive the traditions and maintained the atmosphere of the Purānas in the province Fifty years ago, there was

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2 *Vide* Note 'Baroda forgeries'

scarcely a middle-aged lady of the higher class in Gujarāt who did not know at least one of them by heart

Premānand composed with incredible facility As many as fifty-seven works are attributed to him, several of them being of considerable length though twenty-six of them appear to be smaller The works can be divided, according to their sources, into the following groups

(1) *Ākhyāns* from the *Mahābhārata* *Chandrahāsākhyān* (1671), *Rishyaśringākhyān* (1673), *Draupadīsvayamvar* (1680)*, *Māndhātākhyān* (1681)*, *Bhagavadgītā* (1682)*, *Nalākhyān* (1685), *Draupadīharan* (1689), *Subhadrāharan* (1702)* and *Ashtāvakrākhyān* (1710)*

(2) *Ākhyāns* from the *Bhāgavata Purāna* *Lakshmanāharan* (1664)*, *Okhāharan* (1667), *Sudāmācharitr* (1682), *Vāmanacharitr* (c 1729), *Dāna-līlā*,* *Saptama-skandh**, *Rukminīharan* and *Dhruvākhyān*

(3) *Ākhyāns* from the *Mārkandeya Purāna* *Madālasākhyān* (1672), *Hariśchandrākhyān* (1692) , and *Devīcharitr* (1695)*

(4) *Ākhyāns* from the *Rāmāyana* e g *Ranayajña* (1685)

(5) Complete versions of the *Mahābhārata**, the *Bhāgavata**, the *Mārkandeya Purāna** and the *Rāmāyana*

(6) *Ākhyāns* on the life of Narasimh Mahetā *Vivāha*, *Hundī* (c 1674), *Hāramālā* (c 1678), *Śrāddh* (1681) and *Māmerun* (1683)

(7) Miscellaneous works, like *Svarganīsaranī*, *Vivekavanjāro* and *Bhramar-pachīśi*

Many parts of these works have been bodily taken from the works of Bhālan, Vishnudās, Nākar, and other less known of his predecessors A prince of plagiarists, Premānand allowed no law, either of morals or art, to prevent him from appropriating another man's work By the very conditions of his profession, he was required to use his poetic skill upon the *ākhyāns* well-known to his audience And his works, in consequence, exhibit widely differing standards of skill and language *Nalākhyān*, though largely based on a predecessor's work, is an independent work of art, every line of which testifies to the touch of a skilled artist

## IV

Premānand was very proud of the Gujarātī language, and had pledged himself to make it as rich and beautiful as Sanskrit He is said to have given up wearing a turban till he redeemed the pledge In *Roshadarśikā-satyabhāmākhyān*, a drama attributed to him, he says

> May the Gujarātī language be rich with implied meanings, lovely in its parts May her feet be full of grace and ornament May she excel all her comrades May she reach the pedestal occupied by the language of gods (Sanskrit) May God fulfil my hope of seeing her the best among all her friends![3]

His command over the resources of the language was unequalled, and so was his knowledge of contemporary life He was a profound observer, no detail escaped him He depicted passion, situation and character in a vivid style He was a master of the art of gaining broad effects, and could play upon an emotion to the point of saturation He excelled in making an old plot, however jejune, throb with new life Among the literary artists of the period, he alone was truly a creative artist, and could give a glimpse of actual life

A clever reader of the popular mind, he was always ready to cater to the prevailing taste This was his strength and his weakness In his hands, the dignity of the Purānic characters suffered lamentably The mighty and astute Śrī Krishna was painted in the *Abhimanyu-ākhyān* as a base trickster The incident of king Yuvanāśva bearing a child was described in the *Māndhātākhyān* with a wealth of intimate details revealing lack of good taste and artistic perception His audience must have enjoyed a recital of those passages, but, to-day, they scarcely help to justify his literary reputation

It is difficult to find even an isolated note of personal feeling in his works He wore a literary mask, and identified himself with every situation

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३. सागोपाग सुरग व्यंग अतिशे, धारो गिरा गुर्जरी,
पादे पाद रसाळ भूषणवती, थाओ सखी उपरी ।
जे गीर्वाण गिरा गणाय गणता, ते स्थान ए ल्यो वरी,
थाये श्रेष्ठ सहु सखीजनथकी, ए आश पूरो हरि ॥

The works dealing with *bhakti* show Premānand only as an artist, he can describe the storm of love without betraying subjective intensity His works, no doubt, display greater variety of treatment and a more comprehensive effort to enrich emotions than the work of Narasimh, but the great impulse of pure *bhakti* does not inspire them, nor does a high conception of beauty[4]

His horizon was limited by the narrow world in which the small castes of Gujarāt had their being Satisfied with himself and his times, he considered everything to be for the best in this best of all possible worlds wherein men were ruled by the Purānic order of things In S Y 1729 (A D 1673) famine swept over Gujarāt, and the poet composed *Rishyaśringākhyān* with this note

It was terrible calamity, the only good fortune was that it was not the end of the world, even suckling babies tremble when they hear of the famine of twenty-nine In that year, twenty-nine, I composed this work, I could not repress my nature I am only happy when I compose a poem

His sanity of outlook was in remarkable contrast to the other-worldly note of contemporary literature

Premānand took the old *rāsā* form of the *ākhyān* as he found it—a long, poetic composition divided into *kadavāns* in *deśī* and rounded by two lines of *valan* But he used it with freedom and vigour In his best works, the story was a rapid gripping narrative, but he broke it up at frequent intervals to make room for long descriptions instinct with real life, or *padas* or *garabīs* infused with feeling, homely but rich He used his art so skilfully that the *ākhyān* became, like the modern novel, an elastic medium for all literary purposes

## V

In *Okhāharan,* the poet describes the feelings of a Gujarātī girl on seeing her husband's father Okhā, daughter of the demon Bānāsur, is locked up in a tower with a companion, Chitralekhā She meets Aniruddh in a dream and falls in love with him In the morning, she requests Chitralekhā to draw portraits of well-known men that she might identify her lover Chitralekhā tries her

4 Munshi, *Thodānk Rasadarśano,* p 216

hand at drawing various celebrities, but Okhā is unmoved Chitralekhā ultimately draws Krishna

When she saw Śrī Krishna, Okhā stood up out of respect, covering her face with the fold of her *sāri* She recognised her grand-father-in-law She said, "My husband is surely descended from this man"

Then Chitralekhā drew Pradyumn, and Okhā covered her face again She said, "His limbs are those of my lord, not his age"

Chitralekhā then drew Aniruddh on paper He had a coronet on his brow, his face was like the moon, his eyes, like lotuses Agitated, Okhā rushed to embrace the paper "Come, my Lord, come," she cried, "you have accepted me, why do you forsake me now? A woman's heart is soft, how can I bear it? Speak, I pray, speak to me Why don't you?"

Chitralekhā said, "This is not your husband You will tear the paper, if you hold it like this"

The marriage of Okhā with Aniruddh, described in detail, is solemnised in typical Gujarātī style Bānāsur's wife welcomes the bridegroom and his party, the dinner is given with éclat, drums resound with joy, women sing festive songs, and the marriage knot is tied

*Abhimanyu-ākhyān* describes the exploits of Abhimanyu, the son of Arjun by Krishna's sister, Subhadrā Inspired by revenge, Ahilochan, son of the demon Mayadānav, comes to Dvārakā with a magic trunk, in which he proposes to smother his father's murderer, Krishna Krishna assumes the form of Śukrāchārya, the high-priest of the princely demons But the description given by the poet is not of the venerable Śukrāchārya of the Purānas

He appeared an old man He had a stick in his hand and yet he stumbled at every step A torn piece of cloth was folded round his

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५. दीठा श्रीकृष्ण ने ओखा उठी, कीधी वडससरानी लाज ,
अरे सहियर ! ए भियाना रे कुळमा, छे मारो भरथार.
तव प्रद्युम्नने लखी देखाडयो, लाज कीधी बीजी बार ,
कन्या कहे अवयव प्रभुना, आ पुरुष कोई वृद्ध
चित्रलेखाए लखी देखाडयो, कागळमा अनिरुद्ध,
मुगुट भ्रमरपर वदन सुधाकर, नेत्र बे अबूज ,
घेली ओखा धाइने भेटी, कागळने भरी भूज
धन्य धन्य नाथजी ! हाथ ग्रहीने न मूकीए ते बीडी सारू ;
हृदय अबळानू होय काचु, कुण गजू छे मारु ?
ना, ना, बोलो मारा सम छे, लाजो छो शा माटे ?
चित्रलेखा कहे न होय स्वामी, वळग्यामा कागळ फाटे.

head Shaking with palsy, with mouth and nose dribbling, he looked from side to side with watery eyes His body was shrunken, weak as a twig, as he coughed, he was out of breath He, the Eternal,— coughed loudly like a consumptive man His feet shook under him, sometimes, he fell to the ground Hunch-backed he was, and doubled at the waist His feet were rheumatic, his hair white, his knees bent He walked with a limp When he spoke, his tongue came in the way He had spasms Dressed in a forester's garb, he had thrown a blanket over his shoulders [6]

This description of a poor, old, diseased village priest is graphic, though a little too colourful

On the pretext of measuring the trunk, Krishna induces Ahilochan to get into it, and shuts down the lid The demon is suffocated to death Krishna entrusts the box to his sister, Subhadrā The wives of Krishna, burning with curiosity, prevail upon Subhadrā to open the box Feminine curiosity is, then, picturesquely described by the poet The box is opened, the spirit of Ahilochan enters Subhadrā, and Abhimanyu is born

## VI

In the contemporary setting of *Narasimh Mahetānī Hundī* the poet is not put to the strain of having to devise situations uncongenial to his art as in the Purānic *ākhyāns*, and is more successful The Maheta drew a *hundī* on Krishna at Dvārakā in favour of some pilgrims

The Beloved met the pilgrims on the banks of the Gomatī He had a fitting appearance He walked as men do in the market His turban was of twisted folds Where did he learn to fold it so? With a pen

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६ वृद्ध वेश कर ग्रही लाकडी, वागे ठेस पड़ आखडी.
जलजला नेत्र जुवे अरुपरु, माथे बांध्यु फाटु चीथरू ,
थरथर देहडी ध्रुजे जदुराय, कायामा प्रगटयो कप वाय
मुख नासिकाये लाळो चूवे, कर कपाळे दई आडु जूवे ;
पेटे वळी छे करचली, दीनबधु दुबळा जाणे पेपली
उधरसनो ठोसो ने चढे श्वास, खई रोगिया थया अविनाश ;
खो खो खो खुखारो करे, भोम पडे ने पग लडथडे
नीसरी खुध कटी बेवड वळी, पगे वायु ने माथे पळी ,
खोडागतो चाले कानुवो, वाकु घूंटण पगे जानुवो
वळगे जीभ बोलतां आवे शूळ, ओढयो कामळो पहेर्यु वनकूळ ;
एवे रुपे परमेश्वर पळया, अहिलोचनने सामा मळया.

behind his ear, he looked a *vanik* Like a bania, the Lord spoke hurriedly and with a lisp A necklace of gold was round his neck, a broad belt of gold round his waist His palm had the lines of wealth He had rings on his fingers, a scarf over his shoulders The Lord was large of build[7]

In *Śrāddh,* the Mahetā invites his caste-men to dinner on the anniversary of his father's death His wife sends him to the market to buy ghee, but the saint, oblivious of his mission, joins some one in singing the praises of Śrī Krishna The guests arrive, but dinner is not ready Mānekbāi, Narasimh's wife, is unhappy, and the guests disappointed and sarcastic Śrī Krishna, however, assumes the Mahetā's form, brings ghee, and the feast is held

In *Māmerun,* wherein the poet narrates how Krishna helped the Mahetā to celebrate the *mośālā* of Kunvarbāi, the journey of the saint to the village of her husband is described in detail Too poor to hire a cart, the saint improvises a vehicle

The body of the cart was old, the yoke was bent, the poles broken. The wooden nails belonged to another, the bullocks were borrowed A sack containing musical instruments, a bag of the sacred white clay, and another of *tulsī* wood were tied behind the cart The scraggy bullocks would not move, and the Vaishnavas had to push them forward When going uphill they did it, shouting, "Victory, Victory," all the time Sometimes one of the bullocks, too tired to move, would lie down on the road, and the other alone would drag the vehicle They would then force the first one to rise by pulling its tail A thousand such incidents would happen Every joint of the cart was loose, the axle creaked, the wheels grated They got in and out of the vehicle with the names of Rāma and Krishna on their lips In this manner,

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७. वहालो गोमतीजीना घाटमा रे, मळचो तीरथवासीने वाटमा रे ;
वेश पुरो आण्यो मारे वहाले रे, नाथ चउटानी चाले चाले रे.
छे अवळा आटानी पाघडी रे, वालाजीने केम बाधता आवडी रे ?
दीसे वाणीओ भीन वान रे, एक लेखण खोसी छे कान रे

. . . . . . .

त्रिकमजी वणिकनी तोले रे, नाथ उतावळु ने बोबडुं बोले रे ,
सोनानी साकळी ने कंठ दोरो रे, केडे पाटीवालो कदोरो रे
झळके धनरेखा हथ लिमां रे, आगळीए वींटी ने वेढीआ रे ;
एक ओढी पछेडी खाधे रे, नाथ दुदालो ने मोटी फादे रे.

Mahetājı came to Unā at mıdday and the vıllage turned out to see hım [8]

## VII

*Nalākhyān* ıs perhaps the most popular of the poet's *ākhyāns* Thıs poem ıs characterızed by an ornate style, elaborate descrıptıons, and ıntense emotıons It ıs evıdently an attempt to produce a masterpıece on the conventıonal model The descrıptıon of Damayantī ıs ın the approved hyperbolıc style of the perıod

The serpent saw the lovely braıd of Damayantī, and, humbled and ashamed, crawled ınto the nether regıons The moon saw the sweet face of Bhīmaka's daughter, waned, and hıd behınd a cloud At creatıon, Brahmā collected lıght ın a pot, and made the lımbs of Damayantī out of ıt Part of ıt lay unused, parts lay scattered about, Brahmā put them together and created the moon [9]

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८ जुनी वेल ने घूसरि वाकी, सागी सोटा भागीजी ,
कोना तळाया ने कोनी पिजणियो, बळद आण्या बे मागीजी.
महेताजी मामेरे चाल्या, समर्या श्री जगदीशजी ,
त्रण सखियो सघाते चाली, वेरागी दश वीशजी
सपुट त्राबानी डाबलीनो, तेमा बाळमुकुदजी ,
कठ हार करीने राख्या, दामोदार नंदनदजी
बलनी पूठ कोथळो बाध्यो, माही भर्यां वाजित्रजी
गाठडी एक गोपीचदननी, तुळशी काष्ट पवित्रजी
मोसाळानी सामग्रीमा, तिलक ने तुळसीमाळजी ,
नरसैयाने निर्भय छे जे, भोगवशे गोपाळजी.
बळ हीगबळशे शु हींडे, ठेले वैष्णव साथ जी ,
सोर पाडे ने ढाळ चढावे, जे जे वैकुंठ नाथजी
एक बळद गळियो थई बसे, आखलो ताणी जायजी ;
पडचाने पुंछ ग्रही उठाडे, कौतुक कोटी थायजी
साले साल जूजवा दीसे, रथतणा बहु वक्रजी ,
सागीनो बहु शब्द ज उठे, चूचवे छे बहु चक्रजी
चडे बेसे ने वळि उतरे, ले रामकृष्णनु नामजी ,
मध्यान्ह महेताजी आव्या, जोवा मळ्यु उ गामजी
९ दमयतीनो चोटलो, देखी अति सोहाग ,
अभिमान मूकी लज्जा आणी, पाताळ पेठो नाग.
भीमक सुतानु वदन सुधाकर, देखीने शोभाय ,
चद्रमा तो क्षीण पामी, आभमा सताय
सृष्टि करता ब्रह्माजीए, भर्यु तेजनु पात्र ,
ते तेजनु प्रजापतिये घडयु, दमयंतीनु गात्र
तेमाथी काई शेष वाध्यु, धडता खेरो पडियो ,
ब्रह्माए एकठु करीने, तेनो चद्रमा घडियो

King Nal wants to marry her, but not even the sage Nārad will carry his message to her, lest his ascetic mind should lose self-control in her presence

When on a visit to a forest the king catches a beautiful swan with a golden body The bird thus expresses its feelings towards the captor

> Sinful man! For what sins of mine, do you visit me with this punishment? Alas, man is cruel He will kill me forthwith, tear off my wings, roast me on fire Who will save me from him? In order that he may eat, I must die, a jewel like me must be destroyed My mate, disconsolate, must also die On whom will she now rely?[10]

The king, moved by compassion, lets the bird go, and, in return, it flies to Damayantī and inspires her with a tender feeling for Nal When Bhīmak holds a *svayamvar* for his daughter, Nal and other kings, and even gods attend Inspired by jeolousy, the gods, including Indr, Varun and Dharm, transform one another's face into that of a dog, a cat, a monkey or a bear This touch of vulgarity scarcely satisfies the requirements of art, but, for the poet, Purānic personages were only pegs to hang contemporary pictures on Damayantī selects Nal, is married to him and returns with him to his capital

On one occasion, Nal plays dice with his brother, and loses the stake, and, in consequence, he has to give up his throne and go to a forest for three years Damayantī bids a touching farewell to her children when she loyally follows Nal to the forest Misfortunes befall the pair as they wander through the forests Kali, the spirit of the Iron Age, instigates Nal to desert Damayantī while she is lying asleep in the forest She wanders in the forest, alone and terrified, calling upon Nal in piteous wails She is partly swallowed by a python, and narrowly escapes death

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१० ओ काळा माथाना धणी, पापी माणसा रे, जेने निर्दयता होये धणी, पा ॥
एं तो जीवने मारे ततखेव, पा. हवे हु मुओ अवश्यमेव, पा ॥
टुपी नाखशे माहारी पखाय, पा मुने शेकशे अग्निमाय, पा ॥
कोण मूकावे करी पक्ष, पा माहारे मरवु ने एने भक्ष, पा ॥
आ मज सरखुं, रतन पा ते एळे थाशे नीधन, पा. ॥
टळवळी मरशे माहारी नार, पा ते जीवशे केने आधार, पा ॥

These parts of the poem, already worked upon by numerous poets, bear testimony to the poet's mastery over tragic situations But in the case of Old Gujarātī works, estimates can be only comparative, though a masterpiece among the *ākhyāns* of the period, *Nalākhyān* is but a crude vulgarisation of the noble original in the *Mahābhārata*

*Ranayajña* describes the battle between Rām and Rāvan, and incidentally shows the poet's skill in dealing with *vīr ras*, the heroic sentiment But it is extravagant and tawdry, and lacks the epic thrill of *Kāhnadadeprabandh*

> A crowd of demons rushed determined to fight Noses and ears and feet were scattered on the ground Rivers of blood met Some cried out, others shouted encouragement Some roared, others were beaten with fists, some were stifled, some were masticated to death Here and there and everywhere, royal umbrellas were lying about and armour plates and chains lay broken [11]

Queen Mandodarī, while remonstrating with Rāvan, describes the ominous signs which prophesy disaster

> Oh, king, the day is dusty and overclouded The sun is dim, my lord, the quarters are foggy Evil omens meet us everywhere Yester-night, I had a dream King, how can I tell you how horrible it was? The sea was dried up, the river ran with blood, Lankā was in flames Your queens were in tears, and so were your daughters and daughters-in-law And I saw them tonsured, their hands without bracelets [12]

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११ राक्षस जुथ आवे त्याहा अति अडिया ,
नासाकर्ण ने चर्ण बहू धर्ण ढळिया,
महा रुधिरनी सरिता नीर मळिया
हकारे बकारे कोई त्या खोखारे,
पोकारे होकारे मारे खड्ग धारे ,
पगे झीक पडे ढीक हैये हीक आवे,
आणे अंत बळवत दत चावे
यत्र तत्र सर्वत्र बहु छत्र पडिया,
पाखर बख्तर कवचनी त्रूटी कडिया

१२ आजनो दाहाडो लागे धुंधळो, दीसे झाखो दिनकर देव, हो राणाजी ,
त्रिभुवननाथ ना डुभीए, जेनी ब्रह्मा शकर करे सेव, हो राणाजी आ.
दिशा चारे दीसे धुधळी, काई शुकन माठेरा थाय, हो राणाजी ;
काई फालु बोले रे बिहामणी, रुए वायस श्वान ने गाय, हो राणाजी. आ.
गई राते स्वप्न में पामियु, दीठु दारुण कह्युं क्यम जाय, हो राणाजी ;
समुद्र सुका रुधिर सरिताभरी, लकामा लागी छ लाय, हो राणाजी आ

But the king is adamant, he is determined to fight Rām Even Rāvan's fierce brother, Kumbhakarn, makes a piteous but vain appeal to his brother to desist from fighting

The poet, however, must make even the demon a little attractive Rāvan replies

> Hear my sorry tale When I see Jānakī, I see in her as it were our mother My love for her will only be destroyed with my corpse

At the end, Rāvan develops a sanctimonious disposition, confessing that he is only seeking liberation through death at the hands of Rām

## VIII

*Ashtāvakrākhyān,*[13] written in somewhat polished style, contains excellent verses The sage, stricken by love, wanders in a forest in the company of his wife

> The breeze blew softly A pair of peacocks uttered notes of delight Inspired by love, they moved about like a *sāras* pair They did not part from each other, in talk, in food, or in enjoyment Their love grew, as the lady sang to her lord On the way, the wind blew, sweet and mild, cool and fragrant, the youthful bride looked at the full-blown lotus with an anxious heart[14]

*Sudāmācharitr* exhibits great realism Sent by his wife to seek help from Krishna, his friend when in school, Sudāmā, the poor Brāhman, arrives at the palace Krishna rushes forward to welcome Sudāmā, and his wives bring gifts as a ceremonial welcome The old friends meet, and

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लाख लाख राणी तमारडी, बीजो बहुबेटीनो साथ, हो राणाजी ,
केश विना दीठी मस्तक बोडला, चुडला विना दीठा हाथ, हो राणाजी आ

13 *Vide* Munshi, *Thodānk Rasadarsano*, p 236 *et seq*

१४ त्या वायु मदगति करे अति, द्वद्व बोले मोरना,
सारस समा बे सचरे छे, कामदेवना जोरमा
विखुटा पडे नहि वातमा ते, हारमा विहारमा,
विखुटा पडे नहि वातमा ते, सारमा असारमा
विखुटा पडे नहि वातमा ते, पारमा अपारमा,
विखुटा पडे नहि वातमा ते, भारमा नभारमा
रे विखुटाज पाडे काळ भूलवे, धार निराधारमा,
वितनु वाध्यो स्वर अलापे, भामिनी भरथारमा.
शो मधुर मद सुगंधि शीतळ, वायु वाहे वाटमा,
खील्या कमळ जोई रही जुवती, खरेखरा उचाटमा.

touchingly exchange reminiscences of their boyhood Sudāmā presents Krishna with a little rice, and the present is returned by Śrī Krishna a millionfold without his knowing it When the poor Brāhman returns to his cottage, he finds in place of it a royal palace with elephants waiting at the door Struck dumb with amazement, he does not know what to do Beauteous damsels accompany his wife, now transformed into a young, fascinating woman, as she comes out to welcome him Then follows a humorous situation

When, worshipping him, she touched his hand, the sage ran away, frightened He trembled in every limb, he could not see anything He was bare-headed, his hair was flying about When the beautiful lady tried to hold his hand, the sage shrieked, "I have got into a new house Forgive me, I have no dishonest motive I am old, and you are a young woman My morals are very strict, I assure you, I have not come here lured by passion Let me go Why do you worry me? Be you happy [15]

His wife explains how everything has been metamorphosed by the goodwill of Krishna, and, as he enters the house, Sudāmā himself is transformed into a radiant youth

His *Daśamaskandh,* Xth canto of the *Bhāgavata,* is a comparatively inferior work The well-known lament of Jaśodā, when Krishna plunged into the Yamunā to recover a ball, is one of the finest poems of the author

Why, my dark one, did you plunge into the river, leaving your poor mother behind?

The waters of the Jumnā are dark, the black Kāli lives in it How can I hope to meet you again? How will you come back to me?

My child was my life, but fate has robbed me of it I did not know how to preserve my jewel, and it is now lost to me When well advanced in life, I had a son, I nursed him, I brought him up But the sweetness which I had gathered is now gone Bereaved, I am on fire

When will I see you—a pearl in your nose, anklets on your feet, the peacock-crown on your head,—coming back to me with the returning

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१५ पूजा करीने पालव ग्रह्यो, तव ऋषिजी नाठा जाय
थर थर ध्रुजे ने काई न सूजे, छूटी जटा उघाडे शीश ,
हस्त ग्रहेवा जाय सुदरी, तव ऋषिजी पाडे चीश
हु तो सेज जोउ छु घर नवा, मने नथी कपट विचार ;
हु तो वृद्ध नें तमो जोबन नारी, छे कठण लोकाचार
भोगासक्त हु नथी आव्यो, मने परमेश्वरनी आण ,
जावा द्यो मने का दमो छो, तमनें हजो कल्याण

cattle? You have flung yourself into the deep waters, how will you live? Who will now play with your peacock, your parrot, and your doll?

You are gone, and I am alive, our love was destined to be short-lived How shall I face the world? Yes, the ball was just an excuse, really, you must have been offended with me When you were an infant, I once bound you to the mortar Did you plunge into the river because you remembered the insult?[16]

## IX

Premānand has been credited with writing dramas, three of which were published some sixty years ago They are named *Roshadarśikā-satyabhāmākhyān*, *Pāñchālī-prasannākhyān* and *Tapatyākhyān* From a literary and artistic

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१६ मारू माणकडु रीसाव्युरे, सामळीया,
तारा मनमा ए शु आव्युरे, सामळीया ,
हु अपराधण माताने मूकी, शा माटे झपाव्यु रे, सामळीया—मा०
कालिंदीनुं काळु पाणी, माहे वसे काळो काळी ,
हवे आशा ते शी मळवानी, केम आवे वनमाळी रे, सा०—मा०
सतान रूपीयु मोटुं धन, ते, करमे लीधु लूटी ,
में नव जाण्यु जतन करीने, रतन पडचु केम छूटी रे, सा०—मा०
पुत्र पामी हुं छेले आश्रमे, उछेर्यो प्रतिपाळी ,
नीपनो रस ढळी गयो हु, वीजोग आगे बाळी रे, सा०—मा०
नाके मोती पाये घूघरी, मोर मुगट शिर धारी ,
फरी रूप हु क्याथी देखु, हरि आवे गौ चारी रे, सा०—मा०
काने कुडळ मूखमा मोरली, साजे गोकुळ आवो ;
भूख्यो छौ कही पेट देखाडो, मा कही मने बोलावो रे, सा०—मा०
पीत पीछोडी काछ कछे, मुज कने नेतरू मागे ,
हु घरडी माने थाकी जाणी, कोण वलोववा लागे रे, सा०—मा०
तु प्राणेश्वर तु गोपेश्वर, गोपी देह केम धरशे ;
बाळ सखानी कोण वले आ, गायो हीसी मरशे रे, सा०—मा०
उडा जळमा वासो कीधो, पाणीमा केम गमशे ,
मोर पोपट पूतळी तारे, रमकडे कोण रमशे रे, सा०—मा०
काइ तु गयो ने हु जीवु छु, ओछा सगपण माटे ,
साचु वहाल तो त्या जणाये, साभळता हैडु फाटे रे, सा०—मा०
काष्टपे पाषाण कठीण छे, तेपे कठीण छे लोढु ,
वज्र तुल्य छे काळजु मारू, लोकने शु देखाडु मोढु रे, सा०—मा०
ते मखातर दडानु कीधु, मनमा दु ख काइ आव्यु ,
उखळनु बधन आज साभर्युं, ते माटे झपाव्यु रे, सा०—मा०
नद यसोदा गाय गोवाळा ; व्याकुळ वृजनो नारी ;
चार घडी पूठे सर्व पडजो, हळधर राखे वारी रे, सा०—मा०

point of view, they are inferior to the poet's other works The technique of the dramas ascribed to Premānand is of a different and modern author Their genuineness has been rightly challenged by Narsinhrao Divatia in an ably written paper, *Premānand-nā Nātako* [17] His arguments, which have remained unanswered, are that both stage and dramatic literature were unknown to Gujarāt in the whole period of five centuries, that Vallabh in his boastful recital of his father's literary achievements does not refer to any drama, that the original manuscripts have not been forthcoming in spite of repeated demands, and, that many phrases are based on idioms and ideas formed by Western influence Further, a lapse of over fifty years has not led to the discovery of any other manuscript of the poet's dramas, or for that matter, of any drama composed in Old Gujarātī Old Gujarātī had no drama, and to the literary men of Gujarāt, from Somasundar to Dayārām, the dramatic presentation of character, incident and dialogue was an unknown art

## X

Premānand left two sons, Vallabh and Jivanarām Vallabh is said to have composed, among other works, *Duhśāsan-rudhirapānākhyān* (1724), *Yakshapraśnottar* (1725), *Kuntīprasannākhyān* (1781), *Krishnavishti*, *Premānandkathā*, *Yudhishthirvrikodar-ākhyān*, and a social story, *Mitradharmākhyān* (1754) Some of these works are of more than doubtful authenticity.

According to these works, many of which are not genuine, Vallabh appears to have been engaged in defending his and his father's position as a poet, against Sāmal He was impetuous and arrogant, a fanatical worshipper of his father and a jealous guardian of his reputation [18]

The poetry of Premānand is like the sun The bards are but descended from the Brāhmans, but a Brāhman is the descendant of Brahmā

17 *Sahitya Parishad* Report, Vol III Vide Note A to the Chapter
18 Note A to the Chapter

himself Chandra is inferior to the father of this lord of poets (meaning himself) [19]

There is nothing on earth equal to the Gujarātī language It has all good qualities including mellifluity

Except some happy descriptions and passages depicting impetuous wrath, there is very little in the works of this poet which deserves serious attention His style is extravagant and bombastic, and lacks refinement

*Mitradharmākhyān,* though attributed to Vallabh, is again by a different and later author [20] The subject of the poem is friendship and opens with a reference to persons whose friendship was known to the Purānas Then follows one of the characteristic flourishes of the poet

Duryodhan's friend was Karn, though he courted disaster Premānand is the friend of his foes, and Mādhav (the god?) is his friend All men are friends of Vallabh, a friend is a soul of the body

Then he describes Gujarāt, and has a hit at Sāmal

In the city of Ratnapur, dwelt great poets, some like Prem, some like us Some poets who live there are of dark deeds (*Śāma lakshanavantā*) who serve all and sundry, who disregard the vow of nonbegging and take to the ways of mendicants, who try to become gods but without proper ceremonies, who forgetting the duties of a Brāhman disgrace Gujarāt by their residence

Indu and Mindu are the sons of two Brāhman friends in Ratnapurī For twelve years they live in the *āśrama* of a learned Brāhman at Bhrigukacch Indu grows up to be a man of character, popular and learned, Mindu, an ignorant and insolent knave On their way home, the jealous Mindu tries to kill Indu and leaves him as dead in a village on the banks of the Mahī He returns to his city, and reports that Indu died on the way, later, he changes the story and informs Indu's father that his son is gone to Kāśī for further studies Mindu, now, poses as a prodigy of learning He is invited by the king to a debate with the Brāhmans of the court, and is worsted Unable to live up to his boast, he leaves the town, promising to return

१९ प्रेमानंदनी कविता, सविताशी पेखिये
ब्राह्मणथी भाट थया, वशज विधिना आ तो,
कवीश्वरना पिताथी, चद मंद देखीए

20 Note A to the Chapter

in two months with the solution of the questions put to him

Mindu, in his travels, comes to the village of *kolīs,* where he thought he had killed Indu, and is surprised to find that his friend was alive and had made it flourish Indu welcomes Mindu, saves him from his *kolī* followers who, angry at the insolence of Mindu, want to kill him, and returns with Mindu to Ratnapurī as his disciple to help him secure a triumph over the Brāhmans of the town When they attend court, Mindu refers all the problems put to him to his disciple Indu solves all questions, and the king and the learned Brāhmans are all pleased But the jealous Mindu again tries to deprecate Indu The king, suspecting the truth, has enquiries made The headman of the *kolīs* tells the whole truth to the king, who turns out Mindu and installs Indu as the royal *purohita* Mindu meets with an untimely end

If this work is not a forgery, *ākhyān* for the first time drops its borrowed Sanskritic framework and becomes a story of real life But the life as it appears has neither greatness nor beauty

## XI

Of the contemporaries of Premānand, Ratneśvar (*c* 1700) was the most notable Among his works were *Bhāgavat* (1714), *Vairāgyalatā* and other *pads,* and *Rādhākrishnanā Mahinā* Throughout life he was persecuted by rival *purāniks,* and, after his death, parts of his *Bhāgavat* were thrown into the Narmadā by his illiterate sons at the instance of his rivals A great student of Sanskrit, he attained a purity, elegance and richness of style which were beyond the reach of his contemporaries In his *Mahinā* he describes Rādhā in a conventional vein but with a charm of language approaching Modern Gujarātī poetry

> Madan let fly his arrows at her, and she fell pierced Tied by the fetters of love, she cried "Hari! Hari!" She wept, disconsolate at the separation, wiping her tears with her cloth As she looked into the mirror, she saw her eyes dawn-red [21]

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२१. प्रकटी मदन व्याधि, मों'हर्यों बाण साधी ,
हरि हरि कहे राधा, प्रेमने पाश बाधी ,

Again she addresses the cloud

Oh cloud! Listen to my words Stop the rain and pause for a while Tell me the news of Krishna What message do you bring from Madhupūr? Did you see Krishnaji, sweet as his flute?[22]

## XII

Sāmalbhatt was, after Premānand, the most notable poet of the period He was born about the year 1700 The earlier date, 1640, is obviously incorrect, for he composed his *Angadavishti* in 1752 He was a Śrīgod Mālvī Brāhman of Venganapur (now Gomtīpur), a suburb of Ahmedābād, and knew Sanskrit, Vraja and Persian He left behind him no followers, and no school of poetry

The Purānic works attributed to him are *Śiva Purān* (1748), *Revākhand*, *Angadavishtī* (1752), *Rāvanmandodarīsamvād*, *Kālīmāhātmya*, *Sukadevākhyān*, *Draupadivastrāharan** The works of fiction attributed to him are *Batriśaputlī*, *Sudābahoterī*, *Padmāvatī* (1718), *Nandabatriśī*, *Vinechatnī Vārtā*,* *Barāsakasturīnī Vārtā*, *Sundar Kamadār*, and *Bhojakathā** His miscellaneous works, including those of doubtful authorship, are *Ranachhodanā Salokā*, *Udyamakarmasamvād*, *Śāmalratnamāl*, *Abhrāmkulīno-śaloko or Rustam-bahādurno Pavādo* (c 1725), *Rakhīdāsacharitr*, *Viśveśvarākhyān*, and *Ranastambh*

Sāmal at one time was appraised as a great writer of original fiction and a peer of Premānand, but materials which are now available necessitate a re-estimate of his works He attempted Purānic subjects, but could only produce ordinary *ākhyāns* Though he is said to have

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विरह विकळ रोती, चीरशु नीर ल्हो'ती ,
अरुण नयन दीसे, आश जोता अरीसे

• •

२२ सुण घन मुज वाणी, वर्षता राख पाणी,
क्षण इक थिर रेनी, कृष्णनी वात केनी ,
मधुपुरथकी आव्यो, शो समाचार लाव्यो,
मधुरी मुरली मीठो, कृष्णजी क्याय दीठो ?

* These works do not appear to be genuine works of the poet, *Vinechatnī Vārtā* is by Laghu and Sukh, two Jain authors of Broach *Bhojakathā* is definitely by a later author as it contains references to the Swāmi Nārāyan sect which came into existence at the end of the eighteenth century

twitted Premānand for being merely a copyist of older *purāniks* in the well known line 'कहेलु कहे ते शानो कवि ? ' he took all his stories from early Gujarātī fiction The originals he copied were mostly Jain compositions and not easily accessible twenty years ago That he was not the independent man he pretended to be, is clear from the hyperbolic epithets which he showered upon his Pātidār patron, Rakhīdās, whom he compared to Bhoj in generosity His attack on the venerable Premānand, who, throughout life, maintained the dignity of the noble profession of a *purānik*, scarcely reveals good taste or generous impulses

> I have not learnt any Purān and I have not studied the Vedas I know no figure of speech and I am not sorry I do not wander from house to house, and I have no son to sing my praises I do not go from court to court to receive presents Bards, Brāhmans and buffoons shout loudly, and the audience well pleased says 'Well done' But I feel grieved at this [23]

Grapes were, indeed, sour Critics half a century ago went into ecstasies over him thinking to have discovered in him a modern social reformer, but now we know that they were portraits of social conditions which generations of story-tellers had preserved from a past long gone by, and which Sāmal bodily adopted from his predecessors He could not impart local colour, nor give a contemporary touch so well as Premānand His observation was neither comprehensive nor keen, his views were conflicting and trite, and he had no fresh outlook to present His plots, mostly taken or rewoven from older works, show but slight improvement He has been able to add to the old stock only a few characters or pictures of real life The riddles are there, and so are the long, nerveless descriptions

But his greatness lies in his matchless style and wonderful power of story-telling, in presenting didactic and

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२३ भण्यो नथी कोई पुराण हुं, भण्यो नथी कोई वेद,
रसालकार न आवडे, मन न पामे खेद
घर घर राग ताणु नहि, पुत्र न मुज गुण गाय,
राज दरबारे रझळवु, मेळवी नथी पसाय.
भाट ब्राह्मण नें भाडवा, लाबी मूकी पोक
रीझी भला भला कहे, तेथी थाये शोक.

worldly maxims in striking parallelisms, and in preserving the romantic atmosphere of early fiction, and thereby providing a valuable literature of escape from the morbid influences of his times His *chappās*, made up of six-line verses, illustrating a point of view have acquired an abiding place in literature

> He who was highly respected, left his pride, and was seen begging He who was highly respected bowed low to the mean and the lowly He who was highly respected became poor and was punished He who always saw good omens died, and left a widow The man of large wealth and no learning is but poor indeed God can make a mountain out of a blade of grass What is then the use of harbouring pride?

The poet stigmatised women thus

> Some women have killed their husbands, some have left their high-placed husbands to marry menials, some have left their children and families and gone to live with others Some have deserted a king, to give themselves up to pleasures Some have killed their sisters and mothers-in-law, some their parents A woman is a living witch She robs the strongest of their strength[24]

At another place, the poet recognised their worth after the fashion of his times

> When young, she gives pleasure and company She looks after your bodily comforts, talks affectionately and ministers to pain and anguish She shares happiness and misery, sings your virtues sweetly She *steals your heart and glories in it In old age, she nurses you* When you see her, you forget your pain Not even in death, does she forsake you, out of affection, she immolates herself on the funeral pyre with you[25]

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२४. कैके मार्या कथ, कैके परण्या परहरिया ,
कैके उच अमीर, तजी किकर वर करिया ,
कैके कुटुब परिवार, तजी चित्त बीजे चाली ,
कैके महिपतिने मेलि, माननी गमते महाली ,
कैके सासु नणद सहारिया, मात पिता मर्दन कर्यां ,
ए जुवति जात छे जक्षणी, जोर जोरावरना हर्यां

२५ जोबनमा दे रग, सग सुख टाढक तनना ;
बालपणे करी वात, मटाडे पीडा मनना ;
सुख दु:खमा सम भाग, राग रूडे गुण गाती ,
चतुरा चित्त हरनार, सार उरमा मदमाती
वळी वृद्धपणे सेवा करे, देख्याथी दिलदु ख टळे ,
ए अतकाळ अळगी नहि, बहु स्नेहे साथे बळे

## XIII

And thus we see two authors—Premānand, and Sāmal —standing in bright contrast to the murky background of other-worldliness which spread over two centuries, each proud of Gujarāt and the Gujarātī language, each a law unto himself  And of the two, Premānand stands out foremost  Before his sturdy faith in life and joy, the background recedes like the disappearing mist  With a humorous twinkle in his eye and a joyous note in his voice, he passes on to his world-weary generation the inspiration of Vyāsa

CHAPTER VIII

# THE END OF OLD GUJARĀT DAYĀRĀM (1767-1852)

Influence of Arabic, Persian and Urdu—*Mīrat-i-Ahmadī*—Political conditions (1707-1852)—Persian literature by Gujarātīs—Converts to Islam and their literature—The literature of the Pārsis—The decadent literature—Dhīro (1753-1825)—Nirānt (1770-1846)—Bhojo (1785-1850)—Prītamdās (c 1730)—The Svāminārāyan sect—Its poets—Dayārām (1767-1852)—Personality and temperament—His Life—His Works—His *garabīs*—The close of Old Gujarāt

THE period between 1707 and 1818 was one of wretchedness, disorder and misery for unfortunate Gujarāt Its wealth and weakness attracted the avarice of every ambitious raider in the vicinity Its wealth was destroyed, its agriculture and commerce were crippled, its culture was arrested Social life grew more stagnant and narrow What better soil can Akhā's gospel require?

## I

The sorry tale of feuds and intrigues between 1700 and 1852 may be shortly recounted The policy of Aurangzīb and the raids of the Marāthās marked the beginning of an era of disorder and misfortune The great landlords refused to pay tribute, the imperial viceroys, unable to enforce payment or maintain order, only looked after themselves Hindu zemindars extended a welcome to Marāthās in the hope of shaking off the Muslim rule Petty Muslim fauzdars took advantage of the prevailing disorder to declare their independence as nawabs The chiefs of Junāgadh, Bālāsīnor, Pālanpur and Cambay raided one another's territory, plundering towns and destroying villages

Śivājī and the great Peshwās, no doubt, dreamt of a well-governed empire in India But their agents looked upon Gujarāt more as a treasure to be robbed than a country to be governed, and confined themselves to exacting an annually growing tribute Irresponsible agents of the Peshwās, the Gaekvāḍs and the Sindhiās extorted revenues and allowances from peasants by all possible means, with

the result that fertile districts were left uncultivated The military occupation of the Marāthās is aptly described as a 'system without the breath of life, without elasticity, without the capacity of self-direction, imposed bodily upon a foreign people without even the care of preparing a foundation '[1]

The East India Company appeared on the scene, occupied the Surat castle in 1759, and soon set one Marāthā power fighting against another

In 1761 Ahmadshāh Abdalī dealt a decisive blow to Marāthā supremacy at Pānipat Bālāji Bājirāo, the great Peshwā, died of a broken heart His brother, the perfidious Raghobā, disputed succession with his son, fled to Surat and allied himself with the East India Company The British got their chance Māhādji Sindhiā turned traitor to the Peshwā The Gaekvād of Baroda was induced to throw off his allegiance to Poona, but, unable to withstand the combined force of the Hindu and Muslim chiefs of Gujarāt, threw himself in the arms of the Company A Marāthā war followed

Gujarāt was thus turned into one vast field of endless battle "In this city," says Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* (1781) referring to Ahmedābād, "commerce once met with every encouragement It was the resort of merchants, artists and travellers of every description It now exhibits solitude, poverty and desolation " The trade and commerce of Cambay and Ghoghā were equally ruined

In 1803 the British wrested Broach from Daulatrāo Sindhiā They protected the possession of the Gaekvād or Sindhiā against the Peshwā, or acquired the Peshwā's rights over Gujarāt against them And with the battle of Kirkee, in 1818, the Company finally stepped into the place of the Peshwā in Gujarāt Until 1853, when they took the district of Panch Mahals on lease from Sindhiā, the British continued to quell disorder, destroy hostile powers, and lay the foundation of settled government In this process, they also dismembered Gujarāt Jhālor and Sīrohī, once centres of Gujarātī culture, were handed over

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1 Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, p 432

to Rajputānā, and Dungarpūr, Vānsavādā and Alirājpur to Central India

## II

Political influence directly operated only upon a very narrow province of life  On the sultanate being established, Persian and, later, Urdu became the language of court, law and office  Muslim authors attached to the Sultans or the viceroys wrote many works in Persian  *Mīrat-i-Sikandarī* (1536), written by a Gujarātī convert from Mehmadābād, is the first valuable Muslim history of Gujarāt by a Muslim

But Ali Mahmud Khan Bahadur was perhaps the most noteworthy Muslim historian of Gujarāt  He suppressed riots in Ahmedābād in 1730, was a superintendent of customs in 1748, and was confirmed in the said office in 1753 by Raghunathrāo and Dāmājī Gāekvād who finally overthrew the representatives of the shadowy imperial power in Gujarāt  His *Mirā-i-Ahmadī* is a work of great importance

The castes from which Hindu officials were drawn also took to the study of Arabic, Persian and Urdu  They claimed men who could teach these languages  A few literary men also composed poems in Persian and Urdu  But the influence of these languages on Gujarātī literature was neither deep nor lasting

Thakordās Daru, a Kāyastha of Surat, sent a *kasida*, a panegyric poem, to the Mogul Emperor every year  Nandlāl Munshi of Broach (c 1700) attracted the attention of emperor Mahmūd Shāh Ālamgīr by his poems  Kavi Bhagvāndās (1681-1746), a divan of the nawab of Surat, composed poetry in Arabic, Persian, Urdu, besides Sanskrit, Gujarātī and Marāthī  Śrīdās, a Nāgar Brāhmana, composed *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri* (1731) a history of the reign of Aurangzīb, in Persian  Premānand is believed to have directed his pupil Virji to compose poetry in the style of Persian and Urdu poets  Sāmal Bhat knew Persian and was the first poet who freely used Persian words  Manoharswāmī (1788-1845), a poet, was a student of Persian  And Raṇchhodjī Dīvān (1768-1841), a warrior and a literary man of Kāthiā-

wāḍ, was 'an acknowledged patron of poets, men of science and literary genius '[2] He wrote *Tarikh-i-Sorath,* The History of Sorath, and *Rukat-Gunagun,* Diverse Letters, in Persian, besides poems in Gujarātī and Vraja Dayārām composed poems in Punjābī and Urdu But such literary work did not come natural to the Gujarātīs, and, when Persian and Urdu ceased to be official languages, their interest in them, for all practical purposes, came to an end

The Muslim rulers exerted a more enduring influence on dress, music, luxuries and pleasure hunts of diverse kinds, and the upper classes in Gujarāt who adopted them enriched Gujarātī by contributing foreign words and idioms appertaining to these activities

III

Under the Chālukya and the Vāghelā kings, Muslim traders and mercenaries came and settled in Gujarāt Their religious freedom was safeguarded Siddharāja gave compensation to the traders of Cambay whose mosque had been destroyed by Hindus a remarkable instance of the sense of justice which inspired Hindu kings Muslims were often absorbed in the Hindu community In 1178, when Bāla Mūlrāja defeated the army of Shāhābu-ud-din Ghori, the Turks, the Afghans and the Moguls were admitted as Rajputs, and many Muslim women were converted to Hinduism and accepted as wives by Hindus Since 1297, Turks, Habshis, Abyssinians, Manchukes, Arabs, Persians, Khorasanis dribbled into Gujarāt as part of some conquering army or as adventurers in search of employment, and constituted the unruly and irresponsible element in every army The Sidis of Janjira, in 1670, accepted the vassalage of emperor Aurangzīb, and, as admirals of the imperial fleet, settled in Surat

But the great bulk of Muslims, who form about eight to ten per cent of the total strength of the Gujarātīs, was made up of Hindu converts They never held themselves aloof from the social and cultural influences of their own land and lived on peaceful terms with the Hindus

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2 Mrs Peston in Blackwood's *Edinburgh Magazine,* quoted by D B Zaveri, *Milestones in Gujarati Literature*

Even the proselytisers gave to Islam as local a colour as they possibly could  Nur-ud-din Satagar or Satguru came to Gujarāt about 1001 as a missionary of the Ismailia sect of Islam, and the converts made by him and his disciples came to be called Khojas  According to their tenets, Ali was the tenth incarnation of Vishnu, and Hinduism and Islam were one  The *bhajans* of this sect, though without literary flavour, are turned out on the usual Gujarātī pattern  Other Muslim sects like the Mātāpanth, the Pirānāpanth and the Borahs who follow Pīr Chishti have their *bhajans* in the same style  A well-known poetess, Ratanbai, of the last named sect has composed songs in honour of Kayam-din Pir distinctly under the inspiration of the *pads* of Mirānbāī [3]

## IV

A few Persians, flying before the iconoclastic zeal of the Arabs, left Persia and settled near Sanjān in the Surat District about 758  The settlers and their descendants accepted girls from lower classes of Hindus as wives, and, except in religious matters, adopted the language and the social habits of their neighbours

Some Parsi poets composed in Persian  Bahman Kaikobad composed *Kissa-i- Sanjān* (1600), a poem on the landing of the Parsis, at Sanjān  Mulla Ferose bin Kaus (*c* 1758-1830) a native of Broach, wrote an epic in Persian on the conquest of India by the English under the name of *George-nameh* at the instance of Jonathan Duncan, Governor of Bombay, in the style and metre of Firdousi's great epic

The Parsi poets composed poems in the inaccurate variety of Gujarātī prevailing in the villages of Surat, though they freely borrowed words from Persian, Pehlavi and Zend  Many of them studied Sanskrit and translated Zend or Pehlavi religious books into Sanskrit before rendering them in Gujarātī  One of the earliest of such translations is *Ardaviraf-nameh* by Behram Lakhmidhar (1451)  Later poets, following Gujarātī poets, composed *ākhyāns* from their religious literature, or from the

3 Vide D B Zaveri's article, *Gujarātī Sāhitya*, p 188

*Shāh-nameh* of Firdausi Their technique, taste and style form the curiosities of Gujarātī literature For instance Erwad Rustom Peshotan of Surat composed *Zarthosht-nameh* (1676), *Siyavaksha-nameh* (1680) and other poems His works bear traces of the influence of Sanskrit, as also of Hindu manners and customs adopted by the Parsis His description of the ladies of Iran runs

> The ornament on your head is like the full moon and the brilliant sun of *amāvāsyā*, it sheds a flood of light on this arid desert The ornament on your fore-head is studded with the planets Mercury, Jupiter and Venus Who set your nose ring with *subcherāga gem*?[4] Your ear-rings are made of rubies and pearls, God himself has given you the ornaments of your neck The bracelets and wristlets flash like lightning, the anklets tinkle on your feet

## V

Under conditions such as those described, the bulk of the literature only echoed Akhā's weary gospel[5] Quotations from a few poets will show the tendency of the times The *bhajans* of Dhīrā (1753-1825) were in every one's mouth A Brahmabhat by caste, he came from Gothdā in the district of Baroda Domineered by a very hot-tempered wife, he led an unhappy life, composing *pads*, called *kāfis*, and publishing them in a somewhat novel way He wrote out his poems on paper, enclosed them in pieces of bamboos and set them afloat in the river Mahī for a chance reader to pick up His works are didactic and philosophical His best known work is *Svarupanī kāfī* His *kāfīs* are written in a clear, homely and telling style, and have the sentiments of Akhā without his lashing bitterness His outlook, for instance, is expressed in his *Jñān Kakkā*,

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4 A gem which gives light at night

तम सीश फुल पुनम चद ने अमाशी सूर।
ए वेरान राणमा एथी घणु वरशे छे नूर॥
तम नीडाळ टीक बुध बहरेस्पत शुकर जडी।
तम नाशका नथ ते सबचेराग कोणे घडी॥
तम कान कूडल जडेआ जाणे माणक ने मोते।
कोट आभरण पेहेरावेआ आप धणीए पोते॥
कर चूड पोहोची जाणे वीज चमक चमकीने जाए।
पाए पेजण ते नेवरनो जह्मकार ज थाए॥

5 See Note A at the end of the chapter

The Alphabet of Knowledge When he comes to the letter 'Da' he says

'Ḍa' is for *ḍahāpan* wisdom Why do you adulterate your wisdom? To-day, you are wise, very wise, indeed But how many wise men have sunk? Aren't you ashamed to see them sinking? The wise have sunk in worldliness Wisdom was of no avail to them when Death got hold of them He who knows the true wisdom about the body alone is happy "

Nirānt Bagat (1770-1846) of Dethān, near Baroda, and a Pātidār by caste, was another popular poet His outlook was philosophic, and his language simple and charming He uses Urdu words more freely than any other poet of his time

Such an occasion will never come, let us worship Hari A fool will give a diamond for a cowrie Let us worship Hari with affection What can we say?

The flowing water will continue to flow Fathers and grandfathers have gone before us How can we be left behind? Son, wealth and wife, family and descendants are yours, but, at the moment of death, who will save whom?

Remember, friends are only bound by self-interest Know this for certain no one is another's relative or casteman

Death hovers over your head It will do what it likes, and when Death, the counsellor of evil will not let any one go The fear of Death is the greatest fear of all Why are you trustful? Why do you live in enjoyment? You fish of shallow waters! When he comes no one will listen to you Only those who worship Hari are like Hari If you believe so, listen to the name of Hari [7]

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६ डड्डा ! डोळे शु डहापण रे डाह्यो डाह्यो थई आजे ?
डाह्या डूल्या केटला रे ते तु जोइ नव लाजे
डहापण दरियाव हता ते डूली गया दुनियानी माय ,
डहापण तेनु काई काम न आव्यु जमडाए झाल्या ज्याय ,
दिदार केरु डहापण रे जाणे ते तो राजे डड्डा !

७ आवो अवसर फरी फरी नहीं आवे रे, हरि भजीए
मूरख हीरो कोडी तुल्य गमावे, हेते हरि भजीए १
वेहेता जळ तो वही जशे रे शु कहीए, हरि भजीए
पितुपितामह सर्व गया तो आपण कयाथी रहीए, हेते हरि भजीए. २
सुतवित्त दारा कुळ कुटुब सहु तारे रे, हरि भजीए
अतवेळाए कोने कोण उगारे, हेते हरि भजीए ३
सखे जाणजो स्वारथनु छे साक्षी रे, हरि भजीए
नथी जाणजो नेक सगु ने न्याती, हेते हरि भजीए. ४
मृत्यु जाणजो माथा उपर भमतु रे, हरि भजीए
ज्यारे त्यारे करशे एनु गमतु, हेते हरि भजीए ५

Bhojo Bhagat (1785-1850) a more aggressive poet of this class, a Pātīdār from Kāthiāvāḍ, did not know how to read and write He learnt *bhakti* and *yoga* from some unknown ascetic wandering in the forests of Gīrnār and spent his life in singing *pads* His *Selaiyākhyān* is not an outstanding work, but his principal contribution to literature is his *Chābkhā*, lashes, in which he attacked social vice with effective bitterness He died at Vīrapur and left a large number of followers

His disgust for life is fearful

I saw the miseries of the world, and sent away my wife to her parents One child would ask for a top, another, a cord, the third would say "Get me raiment made", and a fourth would like good food

When I get anklets made, my wife wants a bodice, when I get a ring made, she wants a nose-ring She does not let me rest in peace the whole day Let the cage she had made for me be broken She will go to sleep scolding, and scolding, she will rise She is an expert in quarrels, I have never seen her with a bright face, the whole day long she does not leave me

When guests come, she conceals herself in the house When the children become naughty, she pinches them cruelly Now I have sent her away to her parents with all her clothes And my worries have gone with her Bhojo Bhagat says, thanks to my teacher, I will never have such a wife [8]

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काळ कुबुद्धि केड न मेले कोनी रे, हरि भजीए
बहु बीक छे मृत्यु मोटा मोनी, हेते हरि भजीए ६
शे भरोसे शा सुखमा तु माहाले रे, हरि भजीए
थोडा जळना जीव तारु नहीं चाले, हेते हरि भजीए ७
हरि भजे ते हरि सरखा जन जाणो रे, हरि भजीए
एक ईच्छो तो हरिनु नाम परमाणो, हेते हरि भजीए ८
मन माने तो तारा काजनु कहीए रे, हरि भजीए
नीरात नामे जमने हाथ न जईए, हेते हरि भजीए ९

रे में दु ख दुनियाना भाळी, परणी नारी पियेर मेली वाळी रे
एकज मागे भमरडो ने बीजो ते मागे जाळी रे,
त्रीजो रे कहे मने डगली शीवडावो ने चोथो ले छे पेट पाळी रे में
कडला घडावु त्यारे काबीओ रे मागे, ने वींटी घडावु त्यारे वाळी रे ;
आठ ज पहोर मने जंपवा न दे, एना पाजरिया मेल परजाळी रे रे मे
वढती रे सूए ने वढती रे ऊठे, कजीआमा छे कारी रे ;
ऊजळा मुख एना कदिये न दीठा, ए तो आठे पहोर ओशियाळी रे. रे में
बारणे रे आव्या पाच परुणा ने धाइने ते घरमा पेठीरे,
छोकराने तो धमची मचावे त्यारे चूटला ले छे ताणी ताणी रे रे मे ;

The hymn of death is the best known lash of the poet

Oh soul! Worship the Creator The world is but a dream, surely you will leave your wealth and riches, property and treasures, sons and grandsons, and you will only bear the lashes of death

The wealthy have left behind them their houses, high with storeys, beautiful with terraces and endless windows

Flowers will be thrown over him, four cocoanuts will be tied under him, he will be anointed and bound to the bamboo bier, and people will bewail his death

In life, he never slept without a bed and bedstead, he did a thousand other things But, all the same, he will be stoked on the funeral pyre as if a blacksmith is melting iron, and burnt to ashes

They will go to the burning place, set up a pyre, and lay on him a load of wood They will then set him on fire and leave him His body will be in flames They will, then, take their bath, and abandon him Bhojo Bhagat says, men and women will shed tears for ten days and then forget him [9]

Prītamdās (*c* 1730), a *bhāt* by caste, has composed *Sārasagītā* (1774) and the usual kind of *pads* on *śringār*, *vairāgya* and *jñān* Some of his *pads* bear the impress of originality His well-known *pad* runs

The ways of Hari are for the brave, the coward knows them not

Who offers his head first, he alone can utter His name He only enjoys eternal bliss who dedicates his son, his wealth, his wife, his head

Who are alive and yet dead to the world, they only can dive into the sea for pearls Who ever defies death, ceases to suffer But the spectator on the shore never gains a cowrie

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पटोळा लईने मे तो पियर वळावी ने दु खडा मेल्या टाळी रे ,
भोजो भगत कहे गुरुप्रतापे कदीए न परणु आवी नारी रे रे मे०

९ प्राणीआ भजी लेने किरतार, आ तो स्वपनु छे ससार,
धन दोलत ने माल खजीना, पुत्र अने परिवार ,
एमाथी जाईश तु एकलो, पछे खाशे जमना मार रे प्रा०
उची मेडी अजब झरुखा, गोखतणो नहि पार ;
क्रोडी ध्वज ने लक्षपति, तेना बाध्या रह्या घरबार रे प्रा०
उपर फुलडा फरफरे ने, हेठे श्रीफळ चार ;
ठीक करीने एने ठाठडीमा घाल्यो, पछे वासे पडे पोकार रे प्रा०
सेज तळायु विना सुतो नहि, जीव हुन्नर करतो हजार ,
खोरी खोरीने खूब जळायो, जेम लोढु गाळे लुवार रे. प्रा०
स्मशान जई चेहे खडकीने, माथे छे काष्टनो भार ,
अग्नि मेलीने उभा रह्या, अने निश्चय झरे अगार रे. प्रा०
स्नान करीने चाली नीकळ्या नर ने वळी, नार ;
भोजो भगत कहे दस दी रोईने, पछे मेल्यो विसार रे. प्रा०

The ways of love burn with the flames of fire  Many look at them and run away, those that jump into them are happy, those who look on are miserable

To barter the head for rich prize is not easy, the pure, who welcome death in life itself, attain greatness

Those who love Him are happy  When the kingdom of Rāma comes, they alone see the glory of the Lord of Prītam [10]

## VI

The sect of Svāminārāyan greatly influenced the literature of the period  Its great leader, Sahajānand, born at Chapaiya near Ayodhyā about 1781, was a disciple of Rāmānand, the founder of the sect  The sect drew its inspiration partly from the Vaishnavite doctrines of Rāmānuja, but developed special features owing to Sahajānand's influence  Its speciality lay in its antagonism to the gross epicurianism of the Vallabh sect  Purity of conduct was above all virtues  Twenty-six vows were enjoined on *sādhus* in relation to women, even seeing a woman, or her portrait, or pronouncing her name was prohibited  The sect did very good work among the poorer classes and the turbulent tribes of Kāṭhiāvāḍ  The lot of even untouchables was somewhat relieved by its philanthropic activities  But Sahajānand went the way of the successors of Vallabhācharya in surrounding himself with semi-regal pomp and in having Śrī Krishna worshipped in his own person  The principal seat of the sect at Vaḍatāl is one of the wealthiest in Gujarāt  The sect,

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१०. हरिनो मारग छे शूरानो, नहि कायरनु काम जो ने ;  
परथम पहेलू मस्तक मूकी, वळती लेवु नाम जो ने  
सुत वित दारा शिश समरपे, ते पामे रस पीवा जो ने ;  
सिधु मध्ये मोती लेवा, माहि पड्या मरजीवा जो ने  
मरण आगमे ते भरे मूठी, दिलनी दुग्धा वामे जो ने ,  
तीरे उभो जुवे तमासो, ते कोडी नव पामे जो ने  
प्रेम पथ  पावकनी ज्वाला, भाळी पाछा भागे जो ने ;  
माही पड्या ते महा सुख माणे, देखनारा दाझे जो ने  
माथा साटे मोघी वस्तु, सापडवी नहीं स्हेल जो ने ;  
महापद पाम्या ते मरजीवा, मूकी मननो मेल जो ने.  
राम अमलमा राता माता, पूरा प्रेमी परखे जो ने ;  
प्रीतमना स्वामीनी लीला, ते रजनी दन नरखे जो ने.

however, retained its purity, and its *sādhus* are still found in villages, bringing religious and moral succour to the simple and the illiterate

Many poets who composed poetry in the early decades of the nineteenth century were *sādhus* of this sect Prominent among them were Muktānand (1761-1824), a friend of Sahajānand, Brahmānand, originally a *bhāt* by caste, and Premānand Sakhī (1779-1845) All these poets sang about Krishna's amours, rhymed moral teachings, and bewailed the futility of life in the best style of the age Their principal works were either *padas* or *garabīs* In beauty of language, Brahmānand surpasses all his contemporaries except Dayārām, but, of these three, Premānand was a poet of a high order, perhaps, the only one between Narasimh and Dayārām who sang with a passionate intensity of feeling, rich with the impulse of *bhakti* Like Narasimh, he felt himself a *gopī* of Krishna, but as embodied in Sahajānand Hence it was that he received the nick-name of Sakhī, a female friend Despite the monotony largely inherent in the subject, there is some artistic and imaginative beauty in his verse

## VII

To this weary, lifeless age, came a genuine poet, his wings unclipped by convention, soaring on high in search of real art and emotion In 1767 Dayārām, a Sāthodarā Nāgar Brāhman, was born in picturesque Chāndod—the charming village which, like Narcissus, looks at its own beauty reflected in the slow-moving, crystal waters of the Narbadā Left an orphan in infancy, he was brought up by an aunt As a boy, he was attractive, naughty and mischievous He sang, played on musical instruments, and loved, like Krishna, to play pranks on the young women of Chāndod, who in those days had a proverbial reputation for flippancy More than one antic is recorded of how he took liberties with them, broke their pots, and provoked the ire of respectable townsmen Once he had to flee to an adjoining village, where he met Keśavānand, a *sanyāsin*, and became his disciple

At fourteen, he moved to Dabhoi, an adjoining town He travelled far and wide, and visited Gokul, Mathurā, Vrindāvan, Kāsī and other famous places of pilgrimage He carried the waters of the Ganga on his shoulders, and bathed at Rāmeśvar in the extreme south Wherever he went, he sought the company of the learned and the devout He studied Hindī, Vraj, and Sanskrit literature and mastered the works of Old Gujarātī poets Vaishnavism soon attracted him, and he changed his name from Dayāsankar to Dayārām He visited Śrī Nāthajī, the principal shrine of the Vaishnava sect In the temples of *goswāmīs*, where the great *pandits* and poets of the time met, he acquired both inspiration and technique

He had the personality of a born lover Handsome, graceful and fastidious, he was a beau, and though he had little means of his own, the generosity of friends and admirers enabled him to live in the fashion of his times He wore his hair long like the *goswāmīs*, and greased it with perfumed oils His lips were red with betel-leaf, and he often partook of the mild and dreamy intoxicant, *bhāng* His *angarkhā* was of thin, Dacca muslin, tight-fitting and embroidered His *dhotī* came from Nagpur, and had the broad red silk border which even the rich coveted, and he wore it with finical grace He never went out of doors without first donning a newly dyed and fresh-folded, deep-red turban from Nadiad

He sang with masterly skill, his melodious voice quivering with passion His conversation was fascinating and he could hold forth with great learning on the religious topics of the day His temperament was free, loving, careless, defiant of conventions and restive against all control He was too proud to serve or to earn His worship of Vishnu soon led him to play the role of a *bhakta* it was the only way in which he could lead a life congenial to his temperament

He was proud, passionate and irascible "My head will not bow," he proudly said, "to any one except Śrī Krishna " Gopāladās, who was a power in Baroda, invited him to compose poems in honour of Ganapati He replied, "I am

wedded to the Lord of *gopīs* I have no other Lord, and I do not care whether you are pleased or wroth with me"[11]

His patron *goswāmī* once treated him with discourtesy The irate poet declined to go to him, shut the door in his face, and broke the rosary which he wore as a mark of discipleship On another occasion, he insisted on having a seat as high as the *goswāmī's* Once he abused the *goswāmī* of Kānkrolī who used his spiritual role to cover a multitude of sins

Dayārām had not the making of a helpless *gopī* in him, nor the humility and self-surrender of a *bhakta* The efforts of a prudish generation to conceal his foibles have failed Dayārām was human, all too human His sex instinct was powerful, he loved women for what they were and for what they could give him, and he could not relinquish himself to the pure *bhakti* which while it abhorred women in life lingered long and fondly over the imaginary amours of Rādhā and Krishna He could not be the bride of an imaginary Krishna, he sought delight in admiring women as they sang the *garbā* or bathed in the river Some of his fair admirers were drawn from the highest society

He loved Ratanbāī, the widow of a goldsmith, and openly lived with her for thirty years He did not look upon her as a curse, for he loved life well He wondered how Ratan, a goldsmith's widow, and he, a Brāhman, came to be bound by such an indissoluble bond, and he attributed the relation to their being husband and wife in their past life—a *Tarangalolā* feeling in actual life He flung respectability and conventions away, and besought a *goswāmī's* blessing on them both, eliciting the promise that they would meet again as husband and wife in a subsequent life a hundred years later He loved Ratan passionately, and, for a man of his temperament, steadfastly Once he drove her out of his house, but Ratan's devotion knew no bounds and she came back and served him loyally Dayārām, orthodox Brāhman, cooked for both, and both took their meals together

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११. एक वर्यो गोपीजनवल्लभ, नही स्वामी बीजो ,
नहीं स्वामी बीजो रे, मारे नहीं स्वामी बीजो एक वर्यो०

On his death, he left her provided for, but his relatives robbed her of what had been settled on her The poet died on the 9th February 1852 He left a large number of followers and admirers all over Gujarāt Till the last, he retained his sanity of outlook A disciple wanted his permission to worship his sandals after his death—an honour generally reserved for the semi-divine, but the poet with humility would not grant it "Who am I," he said, "that you should ask this of me?"

## VIII

Dayārām's works may be classified as follows

(i) Compositions relating to the Vaishnava sect of Vallabh e g *Vallabhano Parivār*, *Chorāśī Vaishnavanun Dhol*, *Bhaktiposhan* They are of very little literary value

(ii) Religious or philosophical works containing the doctrines of this sect, e g *Rasikavallabh* and *Satasaiyā* in Hindī

(iii) Purānic *ākhyāns*, e g *Ajāmilākhyān*, *Vaktrāsurākhyān*, *Satyabhāmākhyān*, *Okhāharan*, *Daśamalīlā* and *Rāsapanchādhyāyī*

(iv) Miscellaneous works like *Narasimh Mahetānī Hundī*, *Shadrituvarnan* and *Nitibhaktinān pado*

(v) *Garabīsangraha* The collection of *Garabīs*

*Rasikavallabh* is a poem expounding the Vaishnava doctrine as against the Vedānta of Śankara The style is elegant, rich with the influence of Sanskrit and Vraj, and full of conventional imagery The *ākhyāns* have nothing extraordinary about them The poet lacked the art both of story-telling and portrait-painting which the eminent authors of the previous century possessed His *pads*, ethical and devotional, do not rise above the level of the age which could claim the elegance of Brahmānand Dayārām also wrote many poems in Hindī, Vraj, Marāthī, Punjabi, Sanskrit and Urdu

## IX

It is the *Garabīsangrah* which makes Dayārām so great a poet In an age predominated by Akhā's note of otherworldliness, he dares to be human. He adopts, no doubt,

the cloak acceptable to his world He sings, "I have wedded the Lord of the *gopīs*, and know no other master,"

"The relation of the *gopī* and Govind is unique, and could not be understood by the worldly" He also, at places, echoes the cheap sneers flung at life by contemporary poets But these lines do not ring true *Bhakti*, to him, was an emotion intensely human and vividly passionate He weaves exquisite conceits around this primitive theme, and he invests even the stereotyped Rādhā-Krishna amours with fresh voluptuousness

Dayārām's genius was lyrical and found a suitable vehicle in the *garabī* Though used for the main purpose of providing popular songs for the *garabā* dance, it was a great vehicle for lyrical expression The first two or three lines of a *garabī* were generally lyrical, the rest were thrown into couplets, illustrating the dominant idea Dayārām could not eliminate the couplets, popular taste and the exigencies of the *garabā* would not permit such a departure But he invested the form, as a whole, with a charm and rhythm of his own He made use of popular melodies His language was the most perfect used so far by any poet of Gujarāt, and his words were so arranged that sense and sound and meaning blended in harmony to express one brief experience with perfect art Some of his best *garabīs* were addressed by the *gopīs* to Krishna

> Don't look at me like that, my love! My heart is a-flutter with your side-long glances, and it's pierced by your sharp pointed eyes Yet to look at you is its only joy
>
> In you live all beauty, all joy To look at you is sheer bliss As the pearl, pendent from your nose, sways to and fro, so sways my heart[12]

No translation can express the bewitching charm of the original The following address to Krishna's flute is the most exquisite lyric in the language

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१२ वाकु मा जोशो वरणागीआ, जोता काळजामा काई थाय छे जी रे.
अणियाळी आखे वालम प्राण मारो प्रोयो छे
मोहन मुखडु जोइ मनडु मोहाय छे जी रे ; वाकुं०
नखशीख लगी रूप रसिक मधुर मनोहर,
ज्या जोइए त्या आख ठरी जाय छे जी रे , वाकुं०

Thou art his pet, his darling, O flute! Thy enthralling voice hath captured his heart but mine is pierced by every note You drain off the nectar from his lips What matter if I die?

Thy voice drives me mad Like a lingering torment, your shafts pierce my aching heart

Swords and spears are merciful to thy venom-tipped shafts, O flute! For, they kill at a stroke, but thou delightest in slow torture

Wives have thrown their honour to the winds, saints, their saintliness forgetting, have sinned, distracted, they have wandered through forests wishing but to hear thy voice

Though thy dizzy pride might make you forget, remember what thou art Remember, thou art but a wretched reed, rendered divine by his touch

Thousands thou hast maddened, wedding my Lord, O flute! What wonder if thou hast in his company learnt to steal? For, he steals butter, but thou hast stolen his heart

My pride has crumbled into dust, wherein lie the thousand humbled But though all might answer to thy call, it is not to thee they answer, but, to the slave of our Lord [13]

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१३ मानीती तु छे मोहनतणी हो वासलडी रे !
तुने वालम करे छे घणु वहालरे, हो वासलडी !
मीठो आवडो शो सोहोर, मोहचो नदनो किशोर,
तारु आवडु शु जोर, भुडी ! कालजडु मा कोर रे, हो वासलडी !
पीए अधरामृत पीयु तणु तु, हो वासलडी रे !
अमारे शोक्य सरीखु तु साल रे, हो वासलडी ! मीठो०
वाजी वाजीने विह्वल कर्यां हो वासलडी !
तु तो पीडे अमारा प्राण रे हो वासलडी !
सुणता पडे छे हृदे सासरा हो वासलडी !
ताहारा टहुकाराथी मोहबाण रे हो वासलडी ! मीठो०
झेर घणु छे तारी झपटमा हो वासलडी !
भला तु थी भाला तरवार रे हो वासलडी !
एकी वारे तु हणी नाखनी हो वासलडी !
ओ भुडी थोडे मा मार रे, हो वासलडी ! मीठो०
पतिव्रताना पण मुकाव्या हो वासलडी !
ते तो छोडावीया सतीओना सत्य रे, हो वासलडी !
वनवन कुज कुज फेरव्या ते हो वासलडी !
तें तो सहुनी करी छे एवी गत्य रे, हो वासलडी ! मीठो०
गरजे गुमानभरी आवडी, हो वासलडी !
तु तो जोनी विचारी ताहारी जात रे, हो वासलडी !
जोता तुं काष्ठ केरो करकडो हो वासलडी !
तुने आज मळी छे ठकरात रे, हो वासलडी ! मीठो०

Here is another little lyric of beauty

Listen to me, my friend! Nanda's son is so charming and his words are so dear Gokul is mad after him, for witchery lives in his eyes Hear me, my friend! He is so handsome and so dark The charmer is so fascinating! I love him so that I feel like pressing him in a warm embrace [14]

In another *garabī*, the *gopī* invites her lover

Come to my house, my King, Lover mine! Come to my house and love me For days, I have treasured in my heart many sweet things They are on my lips I will tell them if my king meets me I am only your bond-slave, you held my hand, and I pledged myself to you My youth is fleeing come, my king! You have many like me, to me, you are but one I cannot live without my king To whom shall I confide my misery? I have made my bed with flowers, my heart is astir with joy My soul! Will you come and rest there? I shall shampoo your feet My love, Lord of Dayā! Prince of Vraj! I yearn for you for days Come and satisfy me, my soul![15]

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गतविहीणा ते घेहेला कर्या, हो वासलडी ,
ते तो लगाडच्यु लालशु लगन रे, हो वासलडी ,
चोरनी सगे शीखी चोरवा, हो वासलडी ,
वहाले माखण चोर्यु ने ते तो मन रे, हो वासलडी—मीठो०
मान न राख्यु मानीतणु, हो वासलडी ,
ते तो सहुने कर्या पाएमाल रे, हो वासलडी ,
दयाना प्रीतमनी दासी तुं खरी, हो वासलडी ,
तेडे सहुने बेठी तु ठाम रे, हो वासलडी —मीठो०

१४ नदनदन अलबेलडो रे, एना वहाला लागे छे वेण ,
साभळ सही मारी
घेलु कीधु गोकुळियु रे, एना कामणगारा नेण ;
साभळ सही मारी.
नटवर सुदर शामळो रे, मनगमतो मोहनलाल ;
हृदया सरसो लेइ लपटावुं, मुने एवु लागे छे वहाल ,
साभळ सही मारी

१५. मोहोले पधारी मारा राज, माणीगर ! मोहोले पधारो ,
वहाल वधारो व्रजराज, माणीगर मोहोले पधारो
करी राखी छे एकठी, घणा दिवसनी छे गोठ ,
राज मळें तो कीजीए आवी रही छे मारे होठ माणीगर०
हु सरखी बहु आपने, मारे तो एक आप ,
रहेवातु नथी राज वण, कोने कहुं परिताप ? माणीगर०
सेज समारी फूलडे, आनद उर न समाय ;
प्राणजीवन ! त्या पोढशी, हु तो तळासीश पाय. माणीगर०
प्रीतमदास दया तणा श्रीव्रजराजकुमार !
घणा दिवसनी होस छे पूरी प्राणाधार ! माणीगर०

Another popular lyric runs thus

What he finds in me I do not know Again and again he stares at me, and he finds my face sweet

When I go to fetch water he follows me Unasked, he helps me with the pot, scolding or spurning does not affect him, and flimsy pretexts bring him to my house

When he sees me, he comes running and puts his necklace round my neck Finding me alone he falls at my feet, begging humbly for a trivial favour

Oh sister mine, I find him wherever I go The Lord of Dayā will not leave me in peace [16]

And in an age when Dhiro and Bhojo sang of death, the poet utters the gospel of love "Love will only flow out of the heart of him who is born of the essence of love [17]

At the time when the aged Dayārām was singing his *garabīs* at Dabhoi, a new spirit was abroad and a new age had already been ushered in [18]

Old Gujarāt died with Dayārām, from its ashes, new Gujarāt, phoenix-like, was born with Narmadāshankar

NOTE A MINOR POETS

The principal among the minor authors and their notable works may be mentioned Devidās (1604), the author of *Rukminiharan*, Śivadās Vīrji, the author of *Surekhāharan* and Haridās, the author of *Sītāvirah* (1666), both pupils of Premānand, Mukund, the author of *Bhaktamālā*

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१६ हु शु जाणु जे वहाले मुजमा शु दीठु ?
वारे वारे सामु भाळे मुख लागे मीठुं हु शु जाणु०
हु जाउ जळ भरवा त्या पुठे पुठे आवे,
वगर बोलाव्यो वालो व्हेडलु चडावे हु शु जाणु०
वढु ने तरछोडु तोये रीस न लावे ,
काइकाइ मिषे मारे घेर आवी बोलावे हु शु जाणु०
दूर थकी देखी वालो मुने दोडया आवी दोटे ,
पोतानी माळा काढी पहेरावे मारी कोटे हुं शु जाणु०
मने एकलडी देखी त्या मारे पालवे लागे ,
रक थइ काइ काइ मारी पासे मागे. हुं शु जाणु०
मुने ज्या जाती जाणे त्या ए आवी ढूके ;
बेनी ! दयानो प्रीतम मारी केड नव मूके हु शु जाणु०

१७ जे कोइ प्रेमअश अवतरे, प्रेमरस तेना उरमा ठरे

18 *Vide* Munshi, *Thodānk Rasadarśano*, p 236 *et seq*

(1665), Vallabhabhāṭ (1700), the author of well-known *garabīs*, Kālidās (c 1725), the author of *Prahlādākhyān*, Bapu Saheb Gaekvād (1779-1843), a member of the ruling family of Baroda, the author of many well-known *bhajans*, Giradhar (1787-1852), the author of a well-known Gujarātī rendering of *Ramāyana*, Muktānand (1761 1824), the author of *Uddhavagītā*, Nishkulānand (1821) and Manjukesānand, the followers of Svāminārāyan Among poetesses may be mentioned Divālibāī (1791), Rādhābāī (1834), Krishnābāī, and Gaurībāī (1759) who was a Vedāntin and an adept in Yoga

## NOTE B THE BARODA FORGERIES

With the financial aid of the Baroda State many Old Gujarati works were edited and published by R B Hargovinddas D Kantawala, D B Keshavlal Dhruva, Nathashankar P Shastri and Chhotalal Narbheram Bhatt working in collaboration, in the volumes of the *Prāchīn Kāvya Traimāsik* (started in 1884) and the *Prāchīn Kāvyamālā* (started in 1888) But soon after their publication, doubts were raised regarding the genuineness of some of these works Particularly Narsimhrao Divatia in a very searching scrutiny of the plays attributed to Premānand completely exploded their genuineness In the first edition I had occasion to doubt the authenticity of the works attributed to Vallabha Pt K K Shastri has in an exhaustive study of the apocryphal works, indicated their spuriousness Acute controversies on this point occupied for several years the attention of the literary circles of the last generation The spurious character of most of these suspected works (they are listed at the end) is demonstrated on the following grounds (1) Nobody has ever seen the original manuscripts of these works and in all probability they are non-existent, (2) the style, language, idiom and literary technique of most of these works clearly betray modern and artificial traits, (3) the circumstances under which these works were published are such as would invite strong suspicion regarding their genuineness, (4) the information supplied by the editors regarding the personal history and literary activity of the authors of these works involves many palpable contradictions, (5) most of these works contain some covert clue suggesting that the author of these works is a pretender It is difficult to trace the individual authorship of each of these works but two facts appear incontrovertible (i) these works are neither of the poets concerned nor composed during their period, (ii) they alone contain certain autobiographical details which the older poets never dealt with and they alone weave romantic biographical incidents round the life of these poets — an entirely modern technique These are clearly intended to build up a literary tradition where none existed They have a common base for literary authorship which is attributed to Nathashankar and Chhotalal

Narsımh Maheto *Govındagaman, Suratasamgrām*

Premānand *Hāramālā, Laksmanāharan, Saptamaskandh, Rsyasrngākhyān, Draupadī-haran, Astavakrākhyān, Subhadrāharan, Mārkandeyapurān, Māndhātākhyān, Śāmal-sā no Moto Vıvāh, (Dramas) Rosadarsıkā-Satyabhāmākhyān, Pāñcālīprasannākhyān, Tapatyākhyān*

Vallabh *Mıtradharmākhyān, Yudhısthır Vrkodarasamvād, Kuntīprasannākhyān, Duhsāsanrudhırpānākhyān, Yaksaprasnottar, Mārutıvıjay*

Some works of Ratnesvara, Vīrjı, Harıdās, Dvārakādās, Rādhābāī and Dīvālībāī are also spurıous

# APPENDIX I

Stanzas attributed to Utpalarāja, Muñja, Vākpati and Vākpatirāja in anthologies and works on poetics and dramaturgy

*Note* The following abbreviations have been used in the notes to these stanzas —

*Kvs* *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya*
*Sbhv* *Subhāsitāvali*
*Skm* *Saduktikarnāmrta* (Ed Sharma)
*Smv* *Sūktimuktāvali* (Ed G O S)
*Śp* *Śārngadharapaddhati*

अग्रे गीत सरसकवय पार्श्वतो दाक्षिणात्या
पृष्ठे लीलावलयरणित चामरग्राहिणीनाम्।
यद्येतत्स्यात्कुरु भवरसास्वादने लम्पटत्व
नो चेच्चेत प्रविश परमब्रह्मणि प्रार्थनैषा ॥ १ ॥

अहौ वा हारे वा बलवति रिपौ वा सुहृदि वा
मणौ वा लोष्ठे वा कुसुमशयने वा दृषदि वा।
तृणे वा स्त्रैणे वा मम समदृशो यान्तु दिवसा
क्वचित्पुण्यारण्ये शिवशिवशिवेति प्रजपत ॥ २ ॥

उत्तसकौतुकरसेन विलासिनीना
लूनानि यस्य न नखैरपि पल्लवानि।
उद्यानमण्डनतरो सहकार स त्व-
मङ्गारकारकरगोचरता गतोऽसि ॥ ३ ॥

कान्ताया करजै. कपोलफलके पत्रावली कल्पिता
केलिद्यूतपणीकृतो विहरता पीत स विम्बाधर ।
स्वेदार्द्रीकृतचन्दनस्तनतट. सानन्दमालिङ्गितो
निर्विष्टा विषया शिवात्ममहसि न्यस्त मन सप्रति ॥ ४ ॥

कुतस्त्वमनु क स्वत स्वमिति कि न यत्कस्यचि-
त्किमिच्छसि पदत्रय ननु भुवा किमित्यल्पया।
द्विजस्य शमिनो मम त्रिभुवन तदित्याशयो
हरेर्जयति निह्नुत. प्रकटितश्च वक्रोक्तिभि. ॥ ५ ॥

खर्वग्रन्थिविमुक्तसन्धिविकसद्वक्ष स्फुरत्कौस्तुभ
निर्यन्नाभिसरोजकुड्मलकुटीगम्भीरसामध्वनि ।
पात्रावाप्तिसमुत्सुकेन बलिना सानन्दमालोकित
पायाद्व क्रमवर्धमानमहिमाश्चर्यं मुरारेर्वपु ॥ ६ ॥

चटच्चटिति चर्मणि च्छमिति चोच्छलच्छोणिते
धगद्धगिति मेदसि स्फुटतरोस्थिषु ष्ठादिति ।
पुनातु भवतो हरेरमरवैरिनाथोरसि
क्वणत्करजपञ्जरक्रकचकाषजन्मा रव ॥ ७ ॥

च्युतकर्णशिरोरुहावतसैर्निबिडस्वेदजलार्द्रगण्डलेखै. ।
असकृन्मणिकुट्टिमोदरे सा दिवस कन्दुककेलिभिर्निनाय ॥ ८ ॥

जयति स मदलेखोच्छृङ्खलप्रेमरामा-
ललितसुरतलीलादैवत पुष्पचाप. ।
त्रिभुवनजयसिद्धौ यस्य शृङ्गारमूर्ते-
रुपकरणमपूर्वं माल्यमिन्दुर्मधूनि ॥ ९ ॥

तस्यास्तापमह नृशस कथयाम्येणीदृशस्ते कथ
पद्मिन्यास्सरस दल विनिहत यस्यास्सतापोरसि ।
आदौ शुष्यति सकुचत्यनु ततश्चूर्णत्वमापद्यते
पश्चान्मुर्मुरता दधद्दहति च श्वासावधूतं सखीम् ॥ १० ॥

तापात्पिण्डितविग्रहेव विशतिच्छाया तरूणा तले
रुद्ध स्वाश्रयपक्षपातकृतिभि. पद्मैरपामातप· ।
अद्यान्त पुरयोषिता मधुमदोत्सेकात्कपोलोदरे
द्वित्रै स्वेदलवैरुदञ्चितमहो सूर्यो ललाटं तप ॥ ११ ॥

तुल्यैवेश्वरसेवा कर्म न विद्मः पुरा कृत कीदृक् ।
भृङ्गी यदास्थिशेषो भृशतरमकृशश्च कूष्माण्डः ॥ १२ ॥

दष्ट्रासकटवज्रघर्घरललज्जिह्वाभृतो हव्यभुग्-
ज्वालाभास्वरभूरिकेशरसटाभारस्य दैत्यद्रुह ।
व्यावल्गद्बलवद्धिरण्यकशिपुक्रोडस्थलीपाटन-
स्पष्टप्रस्फुटदास्थपञ्जररवक्रूरा नखा पान्तु व. ॥ १३ ॥

दासे कृतागसि भवेदुचितः प्रभूणा
पादप्रहार इति सुन्दरि नास्मि दूये ।
उद्यत्कठोरपुलकाङ्कुर कण्टकाग्रै-
र्यत्खिद्यते तव पद ननु सा व्यथा मे ॥ १४ ॥

देवि त्व कुपिता त्वमेव कुपिता कोऽन्य पृथिव्या गुरु-
र्माता त्व जगता त्वमेव जगता माता न वित्तोपर ।
देवि त्व परिहासकेलिकलहेनन्ता त्वमेवेत्यथ
ज्ञातानन्तपदो नमञ्जलधिजा शौरिश्चिर पातु व ॥ १५ ॥

नखक्रकचदारुणस्फुटितदैत्यवक्ष स्थल
क्षरत्क्षतजनिर्झरप्रतिविभावितस्वाकृते ।
हरेरपरकेशरिक्षुभितचेतस पातु व
सरोष ताधरभ्रुकुटिभङ्गभीम मुखम् ॥ १६ ॥

न ज्योत्स्ना न च मालती न दयिता नो वल्लकीपञ्चम-
स्ताम्बूल न विलेपन न च रह केलिर्न मुक्तालता ।
नो वा सत्कविसूक्तयो मम तथा हर्तु क्षमन्ते मन
पुण्यैरुन्मिषिता चराचरगुरोर्भक्तिर्यथा शूलिन ॥ १७ ॥

नि सृत्याहवसागरादथ पुन ससृत्य पृथ्वीतल
कृत्वाधो हिमशैलमीश्वरशिर शीताशुलेखामपि ।
गङ्गेव स्मृतजन्मभूमिरमरै साश्चर्यमालोकिता
कीर्तिस्ते प्रतिलोभलङ्घितवियद्ब्रह्माण्डमारोहति ॥ १८ ॥

परार्थे य पीडामनुभवति निर्व्याजमधुरो
यदीय· सर्वेषामिह खलु विकारोप्यभिमत ।
न सप्राप्तो वृद्धि सयदि हतदैवात्समुचिता
किमिक्षोर्दोषोय स पुनरगुणाया मरुभुव ॥ १९ ॥

पुन प्रादुर्भावादनुमितमिद जन्मनि पुरा
पुरारे न प्राय· क्वचिदपि भवन्त प्रणतवान् ।
नमञ्जन्मन्यस्मिन्नहमतनुरग्रेप्यनतिभाङ्-
महेश क्षन्तव्य तदिदमपराधद्वयमपि ॥ २० ॥

प्रणयकुपिता दृष्ट्वा देवीं ससभ्रमविस्मित-
स्त्रिभुवनगुरुर्भीत्या सद्य प्रणामपरोऽभवत् ।
नमितशिरसो गङ्गालोके तया चरणाहता-
ववतु भवतस्त्र्यक्षस्यैतद्विलक्षमवस्थितम् ॥ २१ ॥

प्रेङ्खद्भास्वरकेशरौघरचितत्रैलोक्य सन्ध्यातपो
ब्रह्माण्डोदररोधिघर्घरसघूत्कारप्रचण्डध्वनि ।
स्फूर्जद्वज्रकठोरघोरनखरक्षुण्णासुरोरस्थली-
रक्तास्वादविदीर्णदीर्घरसनः पायान्नृसिहो जगत् ॥ २२ ॥

मात्सर्यतीव्रतिमिरावृतदृष्टयो ये
ते कस्य नाम न खला व्यथयन्ति चेत ।
मन्ये विमुच्य गलकन्दलमिन्दुमौले-
र्येषा सदा वचसि वल्गति कालकूट ॥ २३ ॥

यत्पादा शिरसा न केन विधृता पृथ्वीभृता मघ्यत-
स्तस्मिन्भास्वति राहुणा कवलिते लोकत्रयीचक्षुषि ।
खद्योतै स्फुरितं तमोभिरुदित ताराभिरुज्जृम्भित
घूकैरुत्थितमा किमत्र करवै कि केन नो चेष्टितम् ॥ २४ ॥

यल्लीलाकमलाहृतौ प्रमुदित यन्मन्मथस्यास्पद
यत्कान्ताप्रणयापराधकलहे पर्याप्तकौतूहलम् ।
यत्प्रेमार्द्रवधूविलासललितभ्रूलास्यबद्धस्पृह
तच्चेत स्मरवैरिभग्नसदनप्रान्ते स्थितीवञ्छति ॥ २५ ॥

रतिश्रमपरिस्खलत्समदसिद्धसीमन्तिनी-
स्तनच्युतमिवाशुक विशदपद्मरागद्युति ।
अय दिशि शतक्रतो कुवलयाक्षि बिम्बारुण-
स्त्वदीयदशनच्छदच्छविरुदेति बालातप ॥ २६ ॥

ललितकण्ठनिवेशितदोर्लत करतलाकलितैकपयोधर ।
मृगदृशो दशनच्छदवासित मधु पपौ मदनोत्सवमीश्वर ॥ २७ ॥

श्रेयोस्याश्चिरमस्तु मन्दरगिरेर्माघानि पार्श्वैरिय
मावाष्टम्भि महोर्मिभि फणिपतेर्मालेपि लालाविषै ।
इत्याकूतजुष श्रिय जलनिधेरर्धोत्थिता पश्यतो
वाचोन्त स्फुरिता बहिर्विकृतिभिर्व्यक्ता हरे पान्तु व ॥ २८ ॥

सेय द्यौस्तदिद शशाङ्कदिनकृच्चिह्न नभ सा क्षिति-
स्तत्पातालतल त एव गिरयस्तेम्भोधरास्ता दिश ।
इत्थ नाभिविनिर्गतेन सशिर कम्पाद्भुत वेधसा
यस्यान्तश्च बहिश्च दृष्टमखिल त्रैलोक्यमव्यात्स व ॥ २९ ॥

हृताञ्चनश्यामरुचस्तवैते स्थूला किमित्यश्रुकणा पतन्ति ।
भृङ्गा इव व्यायतपङ्क्तयो ते तनीयसीं रोमलता श्रयन्ति ॥ ३० ॥

NOTES

1 *Skm*, V 58 5 उत्पलराज, *Śp*, 4176 भर्तृहरि, *Padyaracanā*, 43: भर्तृहरि, *Śatakatraya* III 67

| | |
|---|---|
| *St* 2 | *Skm*, V 60 5 मुञ्ज, *Śp*, 4102 भर्तृहरि, *Sbhv*, 3413 anon, *Padyaracanā*, 62 भर्तृहरि, *Śatakatraya*, III 40, Ksemendra, *Aucıtyavıcāracarcā*, St 16 उत्पलराज |
| *St* 3 | *Śp*, 1017 उत्पलराज, *Smv*, p 109 anon |
| *St* 4 | *Skm*, V 61 6 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 5 | *Skm*, I 43 3 वाक्पति, *Kvs*, 36 anon |
| *St* 6 | *Skm*, I 44 5 वाक्पतिराज, *Kvs*, 36 anon |
| *St* 7 | *Skm*, I 40 2 वाक्पतिराज, *Kvs*, 28 वाक्पतिराज, *Śp*, 126 वाक्पतिराज, *Smv*, p 29 वाक्पतिराज |
| *St* 8 | *Skm*, II 79 5 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 9 | *Skm*, I 93 3 उत्पलराज |
| *St* 10 | *Kvs*, 289 उत्पलराज *Smv*, p 160 anon |
| *St* 11 | *Skm*, II 144 4 उत्पलराज |
| *St* 12 | *Skm*, IV 3 1 वाक्पति |
| *St* 13 | *Kvs*, 43 वाक्पति, *Skm*, I 41 1 दक्ष, *Śp* 4066 हनूमत् |
| *St* 14 | *Smv*, p 199 मुञ्ज, *Skm*, II 83 5 सत्यबोध, *Śp* 35 67 anon |
| *St* 15 | *Skm*, I 56 1 वाक्पति, *Kvs*, 20 वाक्पति, Rūpagosvāmın, *Padyāvalı*, 283 हरिहर. |
| *St* 16 | *Kvs*, 45 वाक्पतिराज |
| *St* 17 | *Skm*, I 95 2 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 18 | *Skm*, III 51 2 वाक्पति, *Smp*, p 341 धर्माशोक |
| *St* 19 | *Skm*, V 58 5 वाक्पति, *Sbhv*, 947 यशस्, *Śp*, 1052 इन्दुराज *Bhallatasataka*, 56, *Sūktıratnahāra*, 32 63 भल्लट. |
| *St* 20 | *Skm*, I 95 1 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 21 | *Dasarūpa* (Bıb Ind ), p 184 वाक्पतिराज, p 186 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 22 | *Skm*, I 40 3 वाक्पतिराज |
| *St* 23 | *Ksemendra*, *Kavıkanthābharana*, II 1 उत्पलराज |
| *St* 24 | *Smv*, p 63 मुञ्ज, *Śp* 747 परिमल |
| *St* 25 | *Skm*, V 61 2 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 26 | *Skm*, II. 143 5 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 27 | *Skm*, II 123 5 मुञ्ज |
| *St* 28 | *Kvs*, 27 वाक्पतिराज, *Skm*, p 47 anon |
| *St* 29 | *Skm*, I 63 1 वाक्पतिराज. |
| *St* 30 | Ksemendra, *Suvrttatılaka*, II 6 उत्पलराज |

INDEX